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**CHRONICLES OF
THREE FREE CITIES**



LÜBECK FROM THE RIVER.

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1: CHRONICLES
OF
THREE FREE CITIES
HAMBURG, BREMEN, LÜBECK

BY
WILSON KING

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United States at Bremen



WITH AN
INTRODUCTION BY REV. J. P. MAHAFFY
& NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS BY
Mrs. WILSON KING & OTHERS

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PREFACE

THERE appears to be a dearth of books in English concerning the Free Cities of Northern Germany, although they have had much to do with the history, and more especially with the commercial history, of England and America.

At the present time, when so much is said about the iniquity of trusts and trade gambling, puts and calls, selling for future delivery, strikes, boycotts and corners, it may be instructive to read how the Germans in the Middle Ages dealt with such things, for they had them all, including "peaceful picketing" and the minimum wage.

The history of the Free Cities has been treated of and written about by very many German authors, and I have read and made use of many of their books, but I have made no original research. For the earlier history I have drawn chiefly on the chronicles of Adam von Bremen; and Dr. Schumacher was the chief source of my information about the Stedingers. Upon Dr. von Bippen's history of Bremen I have mainly depended. It is an able, exhaustive and instructive work.

Other books that I have made more or less use of are *Bilder aus der Geschichte Bremens*, by Johann Krüger; *Bilder aus der Geschichte Bremens*, by Johann Beyer; *Alte und neue Zeit*, by J. G. Kohl; *Sagen der alten Brema*, by Marie Lindermann; *Aberglaube und Sagen Oldenburgs*, by L. Strakerjan; *Nordwest-deutsche Skizzen*, by J. G. Kohl; *Geschichte der deutschen Hansa*, by F. W. Barthold; the *Chronik des Thietmar von Merseburg*, and the *Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck*, Helmold's *Chronik der Slaven*, *Geschichtsquellen des Erzstiftes und der Stadt Bremen*, by J. M. Lappenburg, *Versuch einer Geschichte der kaiserlichen und reichsfreyen Stadt Bremen*, by Christian Nicolaus Roller; *Die Gründung Bremerhavens*, by W. von Bippen; *Die Hansa als deutsche See- und Handelsmacht*, by Johannes Falke; *Die deutsche Hansa*, by Theo Lindner, and a few others.

To me this history of these northern cities, constantly recall-

ing as it does the story of the Italian towns, is more interesting because the actors in the drama are so much like Englishmen in many of their actions and in their way of looking at events and tackling difficulties. The Germans, especially the Low Germans or Platt Deutsch, and the English are wonderfully alike, and there should be no difficulty in two such similar peoples avoiding the misunderstandings which have unhappily been very frequent of late.

For Lübeck and Hamburg I have made use of the same ancient chronicles as for Bremen, but of course have used other writers for more modern times. Thus for Hamburg I have followed more especially Nehlsen's *Hamburgische Geschichte*, and Dr. Otto Beneke's *Hamburgische Geschichten und Sagen*. For Lübeck I have among others used largely the *Lübeckische Chronik*, Dr. Max Hoffmann's *Geschichte der freien- und Hansestadt Lübeck*, and other books kindly suggested by the courteous officials of the City Library at Lübeck.

It will be plain to any one reading the following pages that I have aimed at writing simple chronicles, and not an ambitious history.

The late Dr. Thomas Hodgkin and the late Dr. Frederick Seebohm read the MS. and gave me much encouragement, for which I am grateful, as I also am to the Vice-Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, for so kindly introducing the book. The coloured illustrations and most of the others are the work of my wife, but about a dozen have been made for me by students at the Birmingham School of Art.

INTRODUCTION

THE very dawn of civilization may be said to have been marked by the possession of water more than of land. The earliest human progress we know was that of Mesopotamia and of Egypt, and both depended upon rivers, which first carried down rich alluvial soil from the mountains, and then continued to fertilize it by yearly irrigation. The very name Mesopotamia tells the tale, and the word Egypt was used not only for the land, but for the river that made the land. In these cases the irrigation was not more important than the highway created by a great river without falls or cataracts. The produce of all the banks and neighbouring hills for hundreds of miles can be interchanged as soon as the manufacture of rafts or boats is acquired. Indeed, much can be accomplished by letting cumbrous goods, such as beams of timber, find their natural way down the river. Gradually, as man's knowledge and man's wants increase, the waterway becomes the most important function that a great river can perform.

From the use of fresh water it is not perhaps an easy step, but it is a certain step, to use the sea as a highway, at first creeping along the coasts, then passing from island to island, and so creating the earliest form of commerce with foreign lands. And if the sea does not serve for the irrigating of land and the production of the fruits and crops which feed primitive man, or the trees which give him shelter, the sea, too, has its harvest of fish and seaweed, so that it adds to its main use as a highway that of helping to feed those that live on its shores. Hence the first men that settled on sea-coasts, though perhaps worse fed than their inland neighbours, yet had means of living and a prospect of far greater interchange of the necessities of life.

The earliest advance of this kind, leading to great power and a high civilization, was that of the Phœnicians who settled on the coast of Syria, on the headlands, or even islands

near the shore, easily protected from land attack, along a coast poor in the narrow strip of its soil, but flanked by chains of mountains with magnificent timber, and rich veins of metal under the surface, and on a sea rich in fish for eating and, as was presently discovered, for dyeing the clothes they wore. Thus from fishermen with the best timber to build boats, they became, in the course of some centuries, a great group of trading cities, each self-sufficient, each carrying out its own traffic and managing its own affairs, only combining when in danger from some great foreign power, and not even then very loyally or for long. It is worth noting these peculiarities in the cities of the Phœnicians. Aradus, Sidon, Tyre and the rest were founded one after the other, and governed by no common chief or common council, but each with its own king, as he was called, and with its own aristocracy of merchants who were the real sovrans.

The one colony sent out by Tyre which, by the force of circumstances, became an empire—viz. Carthage—does not here concern us.

The group on the coast of Syria was several times attacked and brought under tribute by the great inland powers—Egypt, Assyria, Macedonia—but, with the exception of Alexander's ostentatious conquest of Tyre, accomplished at enormous cost of time and money, the so-called subjugation of Sidon, Aradus, etc., only meant that these cities purchased peace and internal independence by paying tribute, in fact, by having their profits taxed. Nor do we find that they ever stood together loyally in great crises; when, for example, Alexander determined to subdue Tyre, which had offered him everything but a formal entry into her fortress, the other cities, having made their own terms, supplied the fleet which Alexander required, and which made his conquest possible. Mutual jealousies must always have been very strong in these cities. There never was one strong king of Phœnicia, and if they served the Persian power very loyally with their fleet against the Greeks, it was because the Greeks were their most dangerous commercial competitors in the sea traffic of the Mediterranean. At all events their popularity and their wealth long survived their naval power, and Tyrian purple and Sidonian glass made fortunes for their merchants far into the days of the Roman empire. Need I point out the striking analogies which this ancient history bears to the subject of the present book?

Very similar natural conditions have been found elsewhere. The Greek cities of the coast of Asia Minor had in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. created for themselves a great traffic over the sea. The products of the inner country, nay, even the products of the coasts of the Black Sea, were exchanged for those of the west. But, just as in the case of the Phœnicians, their private interests and jealousies were too strong to allow them to form a kingdom or empire, or even a Hansa League. When attacked by the great inland powers, Media, Lydia, Persia, they succumbed when they might have easily resisted under a strong central control, and it was not till the foundation of Rhodes—400 B.C.—as a joint stock capital by other cities that there arose a mercantile confederacy able to police the Ægean Sea, frame a sound mercantile code, deal on equal terms with kings and republics, and become such a centre of commerce and wealth, that the great earthquake which almost destroyed it—226 B.C.—was felt to be a world-wide disaster. The great powers all round the Mediterranean, even those mutually hostile, sent vast presents of money, food, and shipbuilding materials to avoid a financial crisis, which would have made many kingdoms bankrupt. In this case we have one city—Rhodes—holding the leading position which Tyre long held in the earlier group of which we have spoken, but it was only by her moral qualities, by her strict commercial honesty, that she kept the lead over others, like Smyrna or Byzantium, and held them together by this bond till her commerce was deliberately ruined by Roman chicanery and insolence, incited by the lowest commercial jealousy.

From this time onward any combination of European free cities became impossible till the Empire, that absorbed every other power, broke in pieces. But then, when we find Europe parcelled out between various sovrans, dukes and barons, who were at constant wars, and each raiding and worrying his neighbours, the great interests of commerce could only be kept alive by combinations of the very same sort, *mutatis mutandis*. The trading cities of Italy were unlike those which we have described, in that they were not founded on rocky promontories, and were not all on the same side of Italy—Pisa and Venice were both near the mouth of rivers which brought down the produce of the interior, and this was not the case with any of the old trading leagues. But neither the Arno nor the Po were at all such arteries as the rivers of North Germany, where was formed the great Hanse League, which is the main subject

of this book. The enemies, however, of the Italian trading cities were like those of the Hansa, and far more various than the opponents of Tyre and Sidon or of Rhodes. In the Middle Ages all the free cities, which were the bulwark of the middle classes, and which did more for political liberty than any other form of society, had the same kinds of foes to deal with. In the first place these foes were either lay or clerical. A bishop could be quite as great a tyrant as a baron and just as pugnacious. But these, again, were each separated into two kinds—the titular heads of Europe, the emperor and the pope, who, if men of ability, could insist on some kind of submission from every city and territory within the bounds of the Holy Roman Empire—and their subordinates, local dukes, or barons, and bishops or abbots, who were dangerous neighbours, for the wealth of the traders was always whetting their appetites.

How the three chief cities of the north coast of Germany played off their various faithless friends and consistent enemies against each other, how they pursued or controlled their mutual jealousies, how from small beginnings arose the greatest commercial system of Europe for many centuries—all this is told in Wilson King's plain and clear narrative. There cannot be any true history without a painstaking statement of details, and this is the proper justification of the length of a history of these cities and of the recurrence of many situations quite the same in character. Of course the analogies that exist between Sidon and Lübeck, strong as they are, are as nothing to those that exist between the three German cities; but there are differences everywhere. In fact, it is as impossible to reproduce precisely any crisis in human history as it is to find one that has not strong analogies to many others. As men of the same race are both similar in type and dissimilar in features, so are cities. This is here told by one who lived for years, officially as consul, in Bremen, and who knows the others from constant intercourse and observation.

It is interesting to consider for a moment the other geographical areas in Europe which lend themselves to such a development of free cities, and to ask why their history was so widely different. Ireland, for example, would have been just the place for such a league, for its trading cities—Galway, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, Dublin, Drogheda—were all at the mouths of convenient rivers, and these cities were founded by a race superior to the natives, and well able to defend themselves. The city of Galway even had its tribes, or guilds, of

English merchants, who long protected their liberties against both the savage O'Flaherties and the not less troublesome Norman Clanricardes. But the resources of Ireland were too small and the seas around it too large to produce any European result.

It might have been a very different affair if the Heptarchy had lasted, if the Norman William had not made himself real king of all England. We can well conceive the great trading cities, founded at the mouth of navigable rivers or estuaries—Liverpool, Bristol, London, Hull—forming a Hansa of their own and, under the presidency of London, drawing in the central cities that had no outlet for their produce. For that was evidently part of the greatness of the German combination. But royalty was too strong and well founded in England. The barons were never allowed to be robber chieftains in their castles, and the country and the merchants found in the king a strong protector against the violence of local magistrates and the audacious monopolies demanded by foreign powers and traders. Hence there was no need for a Hansa in England. But the elements of it were there, and all the materials which could have produced and made it very powerful in Europe. Even here the Hinterland was as nothing compared to that of the German League, which reached as far as Novgorod! It was the discovery of America that altered the centre of gravity and gave the ultimate victory to the English traders. But is it indeed ultimate? Is it not possible that the trade of Hamburg may overtake that of London, and by playing tariff against free trade, with the aid of a great military power, reassert North Germany as the commercial centre of the world?

It is not easy to estimate the moral value of these great commercial combinations in the progress of the world. There is undoubtedly great room for, and great encouragement of, selfishness, for greed, for overreaching of others, for wild speculation that leads to great disorders. But, on the other hand, no walk of life shows more clearly the great and permanent value of honesty, of the strict performance of obligations, of sturdy independence, or, in fact, of high moral virtues. Hence, just as in the case of religion, though both have caused many wars and been guilty of shocking cruelties, the great aim of both is to promote peace and good-will among mankind. Probably the ideal man of commerce will never be so high as the ideal saint or the ideal warrior. The great shopkeeper has never dazzled the imagination of men like the great territorial

magnate or the brilliant knight-errant. But such varieties of sentiment may be the mere relics of the feelings of another age. And there are symptoms that human energy and human success in commerce will ultimately take their place as one of the true sources of nobility—long maintained wealth and ability, which Aristotle saw long ago to be the only justification of what the world knows as a hereditary aristocracy.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

1914

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BOOK I
BREMEN

CHAPTER I

EARLIEST HISTORY

WHEN Charlemagne waged his thirty years' war against the Saxons they were little, if any, better than were the savages of North America when they were discovered seven hundred years later. They were not nearly so far advanced as the Aztecs of Cortez or the Incas of Pizarro; for the Aztecs had a great architecture and an extensive literature; and the Incas had abolished human sacrifice and governed their country so well that robbers and beggars were unknown—until the Spaniards came.

The Saxons were barbarous, their religion was cruel, and its rites were sanguinary. They had no cities or permanent places of abode, and, like the dread Iroquois of North America, they were a confederation of tribes.

One of these tribes—the Chauken (Chauci)—having been driven inland from the sea coast by the Frisians, occupied the country along both banks of the river Weser. Tradition says that some wandering Chauken families, floating in rude boats on that river, saw a hen with her brood of chicks sunning herself on a little sand hill covered with broom, glowing yellow in the evening light. Regarding this emblem of domestic peace as a favourable omen, they landed and built their permanent camp there. A clucking hen is among the emblems that are still honoured in the decoration of Bremen's public buildings.

Doubtless the real reason for the foundation of Bremen was that there, at the utmost limit of tide water, amid great stretches of marsh and swamp, some low sand dunes, rising a few feet above the level of the water, offered a site for a settlement far enough from the sea to be reasonably safe from pirates, and out of the way of the Frisians, who held both banks of the river near its mouth. Then, too, owing to the numerous sand hillocks making a somewhat safer foundation

than the surrounding marsh, one of the earliest forest tracks—roads by which successive waves of invaders came from the far east—led through the swamps and across the Weser.

Bremen first appears in authentic history in the eighth century as a ferry and a fishing village, insignificant enough, but probably as important as most places in northern Germany east of the Rhine valley. For the Chauken and their kindred tribes hated stone walls, regarded towns as prisons, and felt that even village air was not free and fresh enough for them.

In 787 Charlemagne, having temporarily conquered the Saxons and officially recognized them as Christians, divided their lands into dioceses over which he appointed missionary bishops. To the Chauken he appointed a monk named Willehad, naming Bremen as his head-quarters—not because Bremen was an important place, but probably because it was the only place of the nature of a village, with the great advantage of lying near two rivers which were navigable for the light boats in use at that time.

Willehad, the first bishop of this new Saxon diocese, was an Englishman, born in Northumberland. Early in life he resolved to devote himself to missionary work, and after spending several years at Utrecht in preparation, he plunged with enthusiasm into the labour of Christianizing the Frisians.

Beginning at Dockum, where, only a few years before, the great apostle Boniface had met a martyr's death, he pressed on, sometimes quite alone, into eastern Frisia and the neighbouring Saxon lands, making some converts and many bitter enemies, and many times, he believed, escaping martyrdom only by the miraculous intervention of the saints.

At Bremen he preached and, leaving a priest named Gerval, went on to the coast.

This was at the time when the great Saxon chieftain Witukind was gathering his people together to make a desperate effort to throw off the hated yoke of the Frankish conqueror and his equally hated religion. The natives at Bremen rose and murdered Gerval the priest and the few Franks who were there. Willehad barely escaped by sailing away from Rustringen in an open boat.

As we know, Charlemagne marched his great army into the Saxon country and, in a series of battles, defeated the armies of Witukind and converted them all by wholesale compulsory baptism. It was after that that he made Willehad bishop of Bremen.

After Willehad's consecration at Worms, he worked for two years in his diocese, building at Bremen a small wooden church which was formally dedicated to St. Peter in November 789. Seven days later he died suddenly at Bleken on the Weser. His body was taken to Bremen, where it was buried in the new church and, in time, miracles were worked at his tomb, which became, and for centuries continued to be, a popular goal for pilgrims from far and near.

Almost immediately after the death of Willehad the Saxons again rose, the churches were destroyed, most of the real converts to Christianity were enrolled in the noble army of martyrs, and a Frankish army was cut to pieces not far from Bremen.

The war lasted many years, and it was not until 803 that Charles finally triumphed, and made his triumph permanent by exiling most of the remaining Saxons. Ten thousand warriors are said to have been carried away, with their wives and families, from the valleys of the Elbe and the Weser and settled in different parts of the vast empire. Some few Frankish soldiers were induced to settle in places throughout the Saxon land, but large parts of the country were left without population.

The Saxon power was hopelessly destroyed, and Charles's policy was at length successful. He made Bremen an independent bishopric and, sixteen years after Willehad's death, appointed Willerich as his successor.

Of this, practically the first bishop of Bremen—since Willehad was but a missionary bishop—we know very little save that he built a stone church on the site of the wooden one which the heathen had destroyed.

He was succeeded by Luderich, a haughty, unloved man, during whose reign some Norsemen sailed up the Elbe, sacking and burning Hamburg, whose first bishop escaped with little but the clothes he wore.

Hamburg is said to have been a holy place where Saxon priests from time to time made sacrifices, and, perhaps for that reason, was selected by Charlemagne as the site of one of the castles which he built to guard the frontier of his empire from the Slavs.

Charlemagne's son and successor, Louis the Pious, made it also the seat of a bishop, and appointed as its first occupant a monk named Ansgar. This first bishop of Hamburg was a remarkable and a godly man. At a very early age he was

placed in the monastery of Corvey, near Amiens, where he was educated by Adelard and Radbert, the most learned men of the time.

In 823 he was sent at the head of a band of monks to found a new monastery of Corvey on the banks of the Weser.

In 826 he was selected by the emperor Louis to accompany King Harold, who had been baptized, to Denmark, sailing from Cologne. For two years he preached and taught in Jutland, and then, at the request of the emperor, proceeded to Sweden, where he worked for more than a year. He then returned to Denmark, where he laboured until 841, when he was made first bishop of Hamburg.

Four years later the Norsemen suddenly attacked the town, utterly destroying it. Most of the inhabitants were killed, and it was remarkable that the bishop escaped. It is said that he wandered on foot, carrying the sacred bones of Saints Sixtus and Sinnicius and seeking a place of refuge. This he naturally expected to find at Bremen; but the haughty and envious Luderich, who had resented the establishment of a new diocese made of part of his own, refused to give him shelter; so he wandered on until a pious countess near Lueneberg took pity on him and granted him a farm for his home. There he lived until the proud Luderich died, and the emperor appointed him bishop, or, as was claimed, archbishop of Bremen and Hamburg.

The archbishop of Cologne, who claimed jurisdiction over Hamburg and Bremen, and the bishop of Verden, who claimed equality, refused to recognize the claims of Bremen to the archiepiscopate, which were not finally admitted until more than a century had passed.

For eighteen years, however, the holy Ansgar exercised the functions of an archbishop. During that time he, over and over again, made the perilous journey to Denmark and Sweden. Hundreds of Christians who had been carried off from Germany as slaves were hunted up by the archbishop, who comforted and consoled them, and who often bought them from their heathen masters, for Ansgar not only used all his own property, but all that he could beg or borrow from his friends—even taking the gold and silver plate belonging to the church—for the purpose of freeing the unfortunate captives.

And so, because of his fearless devotion to the evangelization of the pagans, and because of the enthusiastic energy he displayed in obtaining the freedom of enslaved Christians, he

became known as the Apostle of the North and the liberator of slaves. He has been canonized, and in Bremen, where he was buried and where he founded a school and a hospital, a stately church and one of the city gates still bear his name; and in one of the public squares of the city there is a statue representing him as lifting the yoke from the shoulders of a crouching slave.

St. Ansgar had the good fortune to have an enthusiastic and learned disciple, Rembertus, who wrote his life and succeeded him as archbishop. During the twenty-three years that Rembert occupied that lofty position he was actively engaged in efforts to Christianize the people of Scandinavia. Over and over again the heathen Danes and Norsemen in-



PORTRAIT OF ST. ANSGAR, 1242.

vaded Germany, burning, devastating, stealing and enslaving; and over and over again Archbishop Rembert invaded Denmark, Sweden or Norway, so often suffering shipwreck, and so often escaping martyrdom, that the priests, who trembled at home at the very name of Norsemen, believed that he worked miracles; and many were the tales told of his heroism, his energy, his boundless charity and his wonder-working powers. Hamburg had been rebuilt by Ansgar, but it was enlarged and improved by Rembert. He, however, had the misery of seeing

his diocese overrun several times by Danes or Slavs, and in the year 880 Hamburg was a second time completely destroyed after the Saxon duke, who tried to defend it, had been defeated with the loss of two warlike bishops, twelve counts and most of his army.

The history of Bremen and Hamburg was at this time the history of their bishops. The only sources of information are the monkish chronicles, which are often very scanty. Both towns probably consisted of but few houses gathered about a single church and some monasteries, with a strong keep or citadel. As yet there was no protecting wall, and little or no commerce.

Adalgar succeeded Rembert as bishop, but his claims to be recognized as archbishop were fiercely contested by the archbishop of Cologne, who declared that Bremen, Hamburg and all Scandinavia were subject to his jurisdiction. A synod met at Trier to discuss the matter. Haddo, Archbishop of Mainz, presided. As, after long discussion, the learned bishops were unable to agree, or to come to any decision, it was decreed that the question should be decided by the ordeal of battle. The synod adjourned to meet again at the lists, where two knights of distinction upheld the claims of the two archbishops. Adelin was the champion of Cologne, and Widger wore the colours of Bremen. Unfortunately Widger was hurled from his horse by his more expert opponent, and Bremen was solemnly declared to be under the rule of Cologne. Arnulf, who was then emperor, and Formosus, who was pope, confirmed this decision.

The historian of those times, Adam of Bremen, who wrote two centuries later, was an ardent partisan of Bremen, and from him we learn that, in consequence of their unjust decision in this matter, both emperor and pope came to miserable ends, and in the year 901 the decision was reversed, Adalgar being reinstated as archbishop by Pope Sergius. Adam neglected to add that Sergius has been described as "the most wicked of men and given to every kind of vice."

Hogier, the next archbishop, was famed for his energy and for the strict oversight he kept of the convents and monasteries in his province. He was accustomed to dash about the country with a mounted retinue, making surprise visits in order that he might see for himself if the monks and nuns were strictly attending at all times to the rules and duties of their orders. It is said that to this day, when the peasants who live on the land lying between Bremen and Hamburg hear thunder or wind

or any other unusual noise at night, they are apt to say: "Listen to the old bishop going to overhaul the monks."

In his time occurred the terrible double invasion by Slavs and Huns.

The Huns came down into Germany in countless numbers. They were cruel, pitiless savages, carrying misery and destruction through the heart of the empire; penetrating as far west as the Rhine and as far north as Bremen. They set fire to the little town, but the people, driven to despair, arose and drove out the invaders, some of whom were forced into the river, where they were drowned, whilst others, it is said, took refuge in a blind lane which was overlooked by some windows whence women poured boiling water on them and killed them. That spot is known as the Marterberg.

The various German rulers, alarmed at the common danger, rallied to the defence of the empire. The Emperor Conrad led them to victory against the savage enemy, driving him back to the south-east.

The Slavs of the northern border and the Danes took advantage of the absence of the fighting men and again overran Saxony. Hamburg, but partially recovered from the last blow, was for the third time completely destroyed (A.D. 915).

CHAPTER II

THE BUILDING OF GERMANY

THE Emperor Conrad died in 918, and was succeeded by Henry, Duke of Saxony. This great man realized that courage alone was not sufficient defence against such enemies as were constantly assailing Germany. Mounted on fleet horses, they eluded the brave German infantry, and attacked and pillaged vast tracts of country whose natural defenders, heavily armed, and on foot, were unable to follow them.

To meet the emergencies, which recurred so frequently, Henry determined to build walled towns and train his people to horsemanship. His plans were carried out. There was soon an expert German cavalry; and fortified towns and castles sprang up in various parts of the country.

At first it was difficult to persuade people to live within the walls, but, partly by offering special privileges, partly by excit-

ing their fears of the ever-recurring raids of Slavs, Norse, Danes or Huns, people were induced to settle in the towns, and thus the commercial and artisan classes were begun.

Henry was really the father of chivalry in Germany, as he introduced tournaments and raised the standard of knightly honour. He abandoned the use of the heavy battle-axe and of the enormous swords, such as the Germans had fought with since very early times, and introduced lighter and less unwieldy weapons. He also changed the system of fighting, forming his army into long lines of battle instead of into a wedge as was formerly done. He planted the seeds of the military empire, out of which, after many weary years, modern Germany has grown.

In Henry's time the Archbishop of Bremen was a monk named Unno, a great missionary. He repeatedly visited all parts of his vast province. Scandinavia had reverted to heathenism, and Hardiknut Wurm, the Danish King, persecuted the Christians, but Unno, undaunted, travelled through Denmark, making many converts, among whom was the king's son Harald.

He penetrated to remote islands of Sweden and Norway; but he overtaxed his strength and died at Birca, near Upsala, the head-quarters of the Norse religion. Birca was at that time the chief port of the Baltic, and there the archbishop was buried; but his head was taken home and buried in front of the high altar in the cathedral of St. Peter, at Bremen.

Otto the Great—who succeeded Henry I—taught the Slavs and Danes, in many battles, that Germany was a great power, and one to be feared, but he yielded to the glamour of Italy and wasted the strength and hopes of a strong, united Germany in the pursuit of that *Fata Morgana*, an Italian empire. One after another his successors followed the same path, abandoning Germany, which they could have held securely, to seek for a Roman empire which constantly eluded them.

Otto appointed one, Adaldag, Archbishop of Bremen, who was a man of entirely different stamp from his predecessors, who had been monks from the cloisters, whereas Adaldag was a statesman, priest and courtier, a man of energy, ability and ambition. He was very young when he received the pallium from Leo VII, and he reigned for fifty-three years on the Bremen throne.

Up to his time the city and diocese of Bremen had been governed by a lay representative of the emperor, but Adaldag obtained various privileges, including the abolition of this official

and the substitution of new laws by which the temporal lordship of the city was vested in the archbishop, who governed it by means of an elective council or senate.

Adaldag was an intimate personal friend of Otto I, who appointed him Chancellor of the Empire, in which capacity he spent far more time in court and camp than he did in his diocese.

Nevertheless, he was able to benefit that diocese in many ways. For instance, when Harald of Denmark, who had reverted to paganism, was ill-advised enough to murder the emperor's ambassadors at Haddeby, Otto at once marched a great army into Denmark, ravaged Jutland, wholly defeated Harald in battle and compelled him to resign his crown and receive it again in fief from the emperor. Adaldag baptized the king, queen and infant prince, and received the king's promise that the land should henceforth be Christian. All Denmark was consequently divided into three dioceses, to which Adaldag appointed the bishops, all of whom were under the archiepiscopal jurisdiction of Bremen.

Adaldag also built three new monasteries in his diocese, and raised the cathedral schools to a higher level than ever before. He was loved in Bremen though he spent but little time there.

Once, after an absence of nearly five years in Italy—an even longer absence than usual—a deputation of priests and citizens went out three days' journey from Bremen to meet him, and wept for joy at seeing him again. Nor did he come empty-handed, for he brought with him from Italy the bones of several really distinguished saints and martyrs, which added enormously to the prestige of the diocese. In the monastery at Riepesholt, which he had himself founded, he laid the bones of St. Maurice, and in the cathedrals at Bremen and Hamburg and in other holy places honorable rest was found for Cyriacus and Cæsarius, for Victor and Corona, for Felix and Felicianus, and for Cosmos and Damianus.

The archbishop also brought with him a living pope; for Benedict V had been deposed by the emperor and banished to the far north, a prisoner in the hands of Adaldag. The poor pope was a learned, gentle and pious man, whose great fault was that he assumed the papacy as the choice of the Roman people, who had rejected the emperor's nominee. He was taken to Hamburg, which had once more emerged from her ashes, and there he lived, beloved and respected until he died of homesickness and a broken heart. His tomb was in the cathedral which was destroyed early in the nineteenth century.

The archbishop also brought from Italy a holy monk named Libentius, who took charge of the hospice and the hospital in Bremen, which St. Ansgar had founded and which Adaldag had richly endowed, so that not only were the sick taken care of and strangers hospitably entertained, but every day twenty-four poor people were bountifully fed.

Perhaps the most valuable of all the gifts brought from Italy by the archbishop, though he did not know it, was the parting gift from the emperor of a document granting the right to hold a market or fair in Bremen. This was the beginning of the city's commercial history. The new privilege attracted new citizens so that Bremen began to grow steadily in wealth, population and importance.

The market right carried with it the rights of taxing or rating, and coining. All secular rights in Bremen had, as I have said, been given to the archbishop in 967, and he thus ranked among the sovereign princes of the empire. The new merchants became citizens and the archbishop appointed a deputy to rule the city, assisted by a senate chosen from citizens who were members of the merchants guild. Of the fees paid by the members of the guild, the half belonged to the archbishop, the other half to the Hanse, as the merchants' guild was called. In this was the germ of the future government of Bremen.

Archbishop Adaldag was one of the great men of his time. He was imperial chancellor under three emperors, and he was the personal friend of all three. He was respected by the Danes and Swedes of his province and beloved by the people of his diocese, who were also his temporal subjects. He was a conspicuous figure at a court, where he had as contemporaries the beautiful Empress Adelheid, the learned and brilliant Empress Theophania, daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus, and wife of Otto II. Bernward, the great bishop of Hildesheim, the most accomplished man of the Middle Ages, Gerbert of Lorraine, the most learned scholar of his time, Gregory V, the first German pope, and Hermann Billung, the brilliant Duke of Saxony. Adaldag shone amid such surroundings, and was chancellor during a long and important period in the development of the German people. All Scandinavia recognized his spiritual authority and accepted the bishops he sent there. Nothing, however, that he did was more important than the impetus he gave to the city of Bremen. The fishing village had long since grown to be a little cathedral city, clustering around its cathedral, its churches, its monasteries, its school, and its

hospice, but this Archbishop planted the seeds of freedom and commercial prosperity.

Probably he would not have done it could he have foreseen the future. From that period the city has had a life of its own; sometimes nearly extinguished, but ever ready to flourish with the slightest encouragement. The spirit of self-government and of municipal liberty has at last produced the rich, prosperous, beautiful modern model city which we know to-day.

CHAPTER III

HEATHEN INVASIONS

HITHERTO Bremen had been governed by an official representing the emperor; now the official represented the archbishop, while the elected representatives of the upper class of citizens themselves had some voice in making the municipal laws. The change was a momentous one.

The great archbishop Adaldag, having more or less moulded the policy of three emperors—the three Ottos—died at a great age, and was succeeded by the monk Libentius whom he had brought with him from Italy, and who had for several years had charge of the monastic schools at Bremen and Hamburg. During his reign the diocese was frequently overrun by Norsemen and other sea robbers, who, on one occasion, defeated an army sent against them by the Duke of Saxony, and took many prisoners of importance.

Up to this time the castle or citadel had been Bremen's sole protection; but Libentius, terrified by the Danes, began to build an encircling wall of defence. Before this was completed a large fleet of pirates from Scandinavia sailed up the Weser and landed at Lesum, meaning to plunder and destroy Bremen. The invaders captured among others a Christian knight named Hereward, whom they compelled to act as guide. Hereward sent word privately to Libentius that he would lead the enemy into the worst marsh in the whole marshland, from which it would take them time to find their way out. Acting upon this hint the Bremen troops, instead of waiting for the enemy to appear, as they had meant to do, made a rapid march, overtook the invaders as they were floundering in the morass and

annihilated them. For centuries thereafter the name of Hereward was honoured in Bremen, and his praises were sung in popular ballads.

During Libentius's troubled reign, after the death of Otto III, the Slavs, who had nominally been Christians for fifty years, rose, deposed their Christian rulers, burned every church and killed every priest east of the Elbe.

There seems to be little doubt that the Germans brought this fearful disaster upon themselves by barbarous cruelty to the Slavic and Wendish peoples. A few German governors and priests, scattered throughout the country, had ground the natives down, robbed them of their property and treated them as serfs. Indeed, many who were born free were sold into slavery. The rulers and the priests were equally culpable, and the bishop of Merseburg said: "You must fodder the Slavs as you would your oxen and flog them as you would flog your ass." The markgrave of Brandenburg invited thirty Slavic nobles to a feast, and after they were seated at table turned his men loose to flog them, finding the sight very amusing. Mistevoi, prince of the Obotrits of Mecklenburg, aroused the Slavic nobles to revolt, and led them to the frightful massacre of all German residents, the destruction of all churches, the torturing and defiling of priests and nuns, and the surprise and destruction—for the fourth time—of Hamburg. Most of the inhabitants were killed, but some were carried off as slaves. The horrors of this disaster seem to have surpassed all the previous horrors of which Hamburg had known so many. The evil fell at Christmas 1012, soon after which the old archbishop, distrusting both his capitals, took refuge in the strong monastery of Bockum, where he had concealed many treasures belonging to the Church, and where, after a few weeks, he died.

For a long time Hamburg was a deserted heap of ruins, regarded as an accursed spot. It was not until 1025 that any effort was made to restore it. By that time the emperor, Henry II, and Duke Bernward II of Saxony had succeeded in driving the Wends and Slavs out of the Germany of the time; but the emperor, who was afterwards canonized and was already more of a saint than a warrior, took to his prayers, leaving the new archbishop, Unwan, to look out for himself. This he did by completing the walls around Bremen and carrying on constant warfare against Scandinavians, and expecting attack from the Slavs or from his powerful and dangerous neighbour, the Duke of Saxony, who, like the other German princes, was

jealous of the favours showered upon the Church by the pious emperor, and took every opportunity to show their ill-will.

However, Unwan did something more than fight. He cut down the sacred groves of the Druids, which were still numerous throughout Frisia and were still regarded by the people with awe. The wood was used to build churches. He also built a church of stone, near the cathedral in Bremen, and dedicated it to St. Vitus. It was used as the parish church. Some portions of this building are now the oldest architectural remains in Bremen. They form part of the church of Our Lady close to the cathedral, and consist of the southern belfrey with its round-arch frieze, twin window openings and early Romanesque ornaments. Also of some parts of the north side, especially a trefoil arch.

When Knut, after conquering England, returned to Denmark, bringing with him a number of bishops who had been consecrated by Æthelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, Unwan was very angry. He captured one of these bishops, named Bernward, who was unwarily passing through the diocese, on his way to Denmark, and compelled him to recognize his jurisdiction. He also sent ambassadors to Knut, congratulating him upon his conquests in England, and admonishing him for drawing his supply of bishops from Canterbury instead of from Bremen. The king took the admonition in good part, recognized the claims of Bremen and became a warm friend of Unwan.

This was not the only, or the last, attempt of Canterbury to poach in the preserves of Bremen. At this period Æthelnoth of Canterbury sent English bishops to Olaf, King of Norway, who kept some and sent the others on to Sweden. The king of that country refused them and sent to Unwan for a bishop for his new diocese of Skara.

After helping to rebuild Hamburg, Unwan spent the remaining three or four years of his life there, entertaining in his new palace with much splendour many of the neighbouring Slavic princes and the great King Knut himself. The next archbishop, Libentius, is not known to have done anything of importance for the diocese, yet his time is famous because of the Countess Emma, widow of Count Ludger of Lesum, who figures largely in the legendary history of the diocese. Like the great Italian Countess Matilda, she was a devoted daughter of the Church, and made splendid gifts to the churches and abbeys in her neighbourhood. Adam says she gave the Bremen

cathedral two crucifixes, an altar table and a goblet, all of solid gold adorned with jewels worth twenty marks of gold. She also gave many robes and ornaments, golden stoles, altar cloths and books. She gave land and money to the Church, and, when she died, she left nearly all her vast fortune to the Church and to the poor. During her lifetime she gave the diocese of Bremen a valuable estate lying in the Rhine valley. Shortly after her death the cathedral and monastery at Bremen were burned, and of all the Countess Emma's gifts only the land remained.

It is said that on one occasion a committee of citizens waited upon Countess Emma when she and Duke Bernhard were visiting the archbishop and inspecting her estates, which included much of the land over which Bremen has now extended. The citizens complained that they had no place to pasture their cattle, and they begged the benevolent lady to remedy this evil by a gift of some common pasture land.

She at once said she would make them a free gift of as much land as a man could walk around in an hour. The duke, who had some hope of being the lady's heir, said sarcastically: "Why not make it a day instead of an hour?" The countess took him literally, thanked him for his suggestion that she should be more liberal, and begged him to choose a man at once to walk the boundaries.

The duke, angry at having his joke misunderstood as well as at the prospect of having his heritage diminished, remembered a cripple he had seen at the church door, and designated him as the walker. The countess felt that she was being mocked at by the duke; but, going to the cripple, she asked God to bless him, and urged the poor dwarf to do his best. Unable to walk, friends carried him to the starting-place, whence he began to crawl, servants of the countess following and planting a stake at every hundred yards. The unfortunate man, walking on his hands, dragged his body and helpless legs slowly but tirelessly, so that when the time had expired he had encircled a large tract of meadow land—larger than the citizens had dared to hope for when they asked for the gift. This happened in 1032, and from that time forward the Countess Emma's fields were used as a common pasture for the cattle of citizens until modern habits made such an arrangement unnecessary, and now the gift of the good countess has been transformed into the beautiful Bürger Park. It is said that the curious, distorted, crab-like figure carved between the

feet of the great stone Roland in the market-place is meant to commemorate the deformed hero of this legend.

The next archbishop, Hermann, is described by Adam as a man who was "as harmless as a dove, but somewhat lacking in the serpent's wisdom." He only once visited Hamburg, and that was at the head of an army which devastated the neighbourhood. He said it was only salt-water land not fit for decent people to live in. He despised everything in his diocese, but being musical he brought an Italian musician, named Guido, to improve the cathedral choir, and thus quite unintentionally elevated the musical taste and standard of the people, and, says Adam, "that was the only good thing he did." However, his reign was short—only three years—and during that time two men, who afterwards filled great places in the world, were members of his household. These were his chaplain, who became Pope Clement II, and his sub-dean, who was later on the famous Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, consul and chancellor of the empire.

The next archbishop, Bescellus, called Allebrand, was consecrated 1035. He was an energetic, many-sided man, who rebuilt the walls of Bremen and added a citadel and a fortified gate. He preferred Hamburg, where he usually lived, and where he began to build a stone cathedral to succeed the many wooden ones that had been destroyed. He also built a bishop's palace, which was strongly fortified, as suited the times, for the Dukes of Saxony were beginning to show that feeling of enmity towards Bremen's archbishops, which afterwards became so acute, and they had built themselves a strong castle at Hamburg.

About this time King Knut's son Suein, when on his way to England, was driven, by stress of weather, to land at Hadeloe, and thought it a good opportunity to harry the neighbouring country. The archbishop chanced to have an army in that part of the diocese, which surrounded the Danes, captured Prince Suein and his retinue before they could regain their ships, and carried them off as prisoners to Bremen, where the best they had to expect was to lie in prison in chains until such time as large ransoms had been demanded and received.

When the diplomatic old prelate heard of this event he hastened to Bremen, where he received and entertained Suein as a royal prince on his travels, and welcomed him as one of the chief laymen of the province. After entertaining him

royally for a few days he dismissed him with his blessing and without any question of ransom. This unexpected and undeserved treatment made a lasting impression on Suein, who continued thereafter, as long as he lived, to be a friend and ally of the archbishop's.

During Allebrand's reign a voyage of discovery, probably the first scientific expedition of modern times, took place. Several Frisian noblemen, and others, sailed due north from the Weser, in their ships, which must have been very primitive, simply to see what was there; with no idea of pillage or conquest, but apparently urged by curiosity and a desire to increase human knowledge.

Those who returned reported that, after sailing due north, keeping Norway to the right and the Orkneys to the left, they came to a frozen country and sailed along its coasts. Then, recommending themselves to the care of Almighty God and St. Willehad, they struck out to sea, when suddenly a great darkness fell upon the ocean, so that they could see nothing, and their ships were seized by an irresistible current, which hurried them along toward the secret sources of the ocean in the depths of chaos, which is the bottomless pit. The unfortunate mariners had already given up hope and were expecting death, when several of their ships were caught in a return current, whirled backwards and spit out by a rising tide, whereupon they made mighty efforts, and at last escaped from the whirlpools and the darkness through the infinite mercy of God. Thus far the account of these adventures seems to be fairly trustworthy, but those which follow are distinctly fabulous. The voyagers came to an island, where they landed and found men who concealed themselves in underground caves at noon, leaving before their doors vast numbers of cups and dishes of pure gold. Of these the voyagers took as many as they could carry and hastened back to their ships. As they looked back they saw that they were pursued by giants with enormous dogs, by whom one of the travellers was overtaken and torn to pieces. The others escaped, though followed a great distance by the giants, who waded out far into the sea shouting at them. The explorers came safely home to Bremen, where they offered public thanks to Christ and to St. Willehad in the cathedral, and gave an account of their marvellous expedition to the archbishop, who repeated it to the dean, Adalbert, who told it to Adam the historian, who wrote it down. But what became of the wonderful golden dishes has not been told. Perhaps they

were placed in the cathedral alongside the precious gifts of the Countess Emma, and with them were burned.

It was in this archbishop's time, 1043, when he was absent from Bremen, that a monk named Edo, furious at not being made dean, set fire to the cathedral, which was burned and its contents were completely destroyed. The fire spread and consumed the adjoining monasteries and a great part of the city. The archbishop hastened back and began at once to rebuild, planning church and monasteries on a larger and grander scale. Long before they were finished the archbishop died of a chill and fever, brought on, it was thought, by a walk which he took bare-foot through the swamps from Stade to Bremen, a self-inflicted penance for some sin.

CHAPTER IV

ADALBERT THE GREAT

THE dukes of Saxony, who have already been mentioned, and who from time to time took a prominent part in the history of Bremen, were of the family of Billung, and were no doubt still regarded, in the eleventh century, as upstarts by the old ruling families. Early in the reign of Otto I a young man named Hermann Billung appeared at Court. He is said to have been the son of poor parents who were only able to leave him a patrimony of seven hides of land. However, he was lively, strong, handsome, modest, attractive and faithful (the description is Adam's), and the emperor took a liking to him; and, since Billung was well trained in all the exercises which knights and princes should know, he appointed him instructor to his sons. Later, he gave him various commissions, which he performed so satisfactorily that he made him a count, and no doubt he was first favourite with the sovereign. When, later, the Duke of Saxony became king and emperor, he retained the duchy, for a time, in his own hands, but as time went on he was convinced that there must be a strong head to that duchy, especially exposed as it was and liable to frequent inroads by Norsemen and by Slavs. So, when about to set out on an expedition to Italy, he appointed Hermann Billung to the great post of Duke of Saxony, which included nearly all northern Germany. The appointment was not liked by the ducal families

of Germany, but Billung made a strong and reasonably just ruler, and was a favourite with the princes of the Church.

When Hermann died he was peaceably succeeded by his son, and he again by his son. The blood of these upstarts of the eleventh century flows now in all the royal veins of Europe.

The Dukes of Saxony were overlords of most of the duchy, but some lands were reserved by the emperors; some were held by the Church.

Of these Church lands, some owed allegiance to no lay lord, but most of them, though belonging to the Church, owed feudal service to the duke. This double allegiance had been the cause of a good deal of friction between dukes and archbishops, and the situation was already strained when the next archbishop was appointed.

Adalbert, Provost of Halberstadt, was a member of an old princely family. He was very handsome, clever, proud, ambitious and learned. He had a marvellous memory and a hasty temper. He was conspicuous for temperance, chastity and moral purity in an age when those virtues may have been admired though they were not generally practised.

But, according to his biographer, Adam, who knew him well, all his great virtues were spoiled by his colossal vanity.

When he was consecrated, in the presence of the emperor and the princes of the empire, at Aix la Chapelle, twelve bishops joined in laying on of hands, and that, he afterwards claimed, was a special recognition of his superiority.

At first he took an active interest in the work of his diocese, being especially absorbed in the new cathedral which was then building. In order to hasten the work he ordered parts of the city walls to be torn down and the stones to be used for the church. He also tore down the new and beautiful stone convent because the cathedral was more important and needed the stone, and in that marshy country, with the roads bad, as they were in those days, it was difficult to get suitable stone. He intended to rebuild the city walls and the convent in time and when opportunity offered, but that time and opportunity did not come. He said that priests and stones were the two things of which he could never get enough.

From the first the interests and the ambitions of Archbishop Adalbert clashed with those of Duke Bernard. When Adalbert was appointed to the see of Bremen the duke is reported to have said that a man of such high birth and of so great wisdom could only have been selected by the emperor in order that he

might act as a spy in the land to find out its weakness, and that so long as he, the duke, or any son of his survived, the new archbishop should never have a happy day. And so it came to pass that, whatsoever the archbishop tried to do, he was quite sure to find the duke or some member of his family in the way.

In a short time the haughty archbishop was in a state of anger which was the greater because he had to conceal it. He then conceived the idea of obtaining for the Church the absolute lordship over the estates belonging to the Church within the diocese. If he had done this—and the Bishop of Wurzburg had done so in his diocese—he would have greatly weakened the duke and strengthened the archbishops of Bremen. So Adalbert went to Court and gave his whole mind to making himself useful and indispensable. His versatility and ability surprised every one, and his energy was equally astounding. He was soon the first of the emperor's councillors, accompanying him on all his campaigns, advising him in all negotiations, drawing up all treaties. He was easily the first subject at Court, and he was popular with both emperor and empress. He had also a number of devoted adherents among the clergy, but his arrogance and haughtiness estranged most of the great ecclesiastics, while his declared enmity to the great sovereign princes of the empire, and his avowed determination to elevate the emperor and centralize the imperial power by humiliating and weakening the great vassals left him no friends among them.

In 1046 the emperor went to Italy, taking with him a great train of nobles and ecclesiastics, and, among them, Archbishop Adalbert. There were three claimants for the papacy—Benedict, Gratian or Gregory, and Sylvester—all of whom were swept aside by the emperor, Henry III., who wished to make Adalbert pope. This post the archbishop declined, but named a friend and adherent who was made Pope Clement II. He crowned Henry Emperor on Christmas Day.

One can hardly help wondering if Adalbert, the ambitious, would have refused the papal tiara after Hildebrand had raised the papacy to the supreme point he did! When Clement II. was appointed it was at its lowest level, and the Bishop of Rome was the creature sometimes of a German king, sometimes of a Roman mob. As Archbishop of Bremen, Chancellor of the empire and favourite of the emperor, Adalbert was a much greater man than the pope.

It is supposed that Adalbert, seeing the low estate of the papacy, had an ambitious plan of forming a northern patriarchate, independent of Rome, with Bremen as its capital. This idea has been accepted by most of the not very numerous writers upon this period of history. However, one of the most recent and most able, Dr. Wilhelm von Bippen, says, "No matter what may have been the reasons which induced so proud and so ambitious a man to decline the highest place in the Church, we can under no circumstances believe that Adalbert refused the papal tiara because he aspired to found a Hamburg patriarchate to compete, in northern Europe, with the papacy."

To me it seems that Dr. von Bippen has regarded the papacy in the light of the splendour which surrounded it in later days. When Adalbert refused it there was not much loyalty to Rome and its bishop. Italian youths of noble family fought for it and snatched it, as they fought for and snatched the headship of other small Italian republics, or principalities, or cities.

Adalbert was author of a policy which aimed at increasing the imperial power and magnificence at the expense of the Church as well as of the great nobles. It was the final overthrow of Adalbert, and the triumph of ecclesiasticism, as represented by Hanno of Cologne and the wily Hildebrand, which humiliated the emperor and deified the humble popes. However, Adalbert declined the tiara, and came back to Germany. Whenever opportunity offered he begged some favour for his diocese from his imperial master. One after another he was acquiring the feudal headship, the lay lordship, of the estates within his diocese which belonged to the Church. For, whether or not he hoped for ecclesiastical freedom from Rome, there can be no doubt that he ardently longed for absolute temporal freedom from the dukes of Saxony. The Saxony ducal family was furiously angry, but, for the time, impotent.

In 1048 Adalbert invited the emperor to visit him in Bremen, nominally to inspect the great estate of Lesum, which had belonged to the husband of the good Countess Emma, but had descended to the Empress Agnes. It was many miles in extent, and came almost to the gates of Bremen. He also invited King Suein to meet the emperor. Duke Bernard was jealous, suspecting that some plan to deprive him of his power was afoot. He is believed to have prevented the Dane from coming, but the emperor duly arrived and met with a magnificent reception. He then proceeded to the village and castle of Lesum, where some of the Billung family made a foolish and treason-

able move. Count Thietmar, the duke's brother, laid in ambush with a band of followers and attempted to surprise and either capture or kill the emperor. The archbishop was informed of the plot in time to hurry forward with his troops, rescue the emperor and capture the count, who was, very naturally, accused of treason. In the ordeal by battle which followed, Thietmar was killed by Arnold, the emperor's champion.

A few days later Arnold was waylaid by Thietmar's two sons, who hung him, head down, between two dogs. These two Saxon princes were thereupon banished for ever. All of these occurrences made the duke less friendly than ever.

The archbishop was often in Hamburg, and, when there, frequently entertained the King of Denmark and Gottschalck, who had consolidated a kingdom for himself, made up of lands adjoining Holstein and east of the Elbe, peopled with Wends and Slavs. Gottschalck was a famous fighter who had conquered several heathen tribes. He, himself, was baptized, and, after meeting and falling under the spell of the courtly archbishop, became an ardent missionary, forcing whole tribes to come in and be baptized. Many churches were built, many German priests were sent into the new kingdom, and the archbishop appointed three new bishops to the new dioceses of Ratzeburg, Aldenburg and Mecklenburg. Kings Suein and Gottschalck were deeply impressed and influenced by Adalbert. They greatly admired him, and never missed an opportunity of visiting him, and this again was not at all to the liking of the Duke of Saxony.

Adalbert was making other powerful enemies. As chancellor, he had, at one time or another, compelled the Margrave of Tuscany, the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Bavaria and the Count of Flanders to submit to the emperor, and they all regarded Adalbert—as the cause of their humiliation—with aversion. His name was in every mouth, and great sovereigns like the King of France and the Emperor at Constantinople sent him gifts and begged for his friendship.

Pope Clement II. reigned only ten months, and after him came a period of chaos, out of which emerged Leo IX., whose chief advisers were Hanno and Hildebrand. The latter strongly disapproved of Adalbert's plan to decentralize the Church and to concentrate power in the hands of the emperor, whilst Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, was a strong, sour, unpleasant priest who disliked Adalbert and all his ways.

Suddenly Henry III. died, leaving his son Henry, a lad of six, as heir to the empire. The empress, proving too weak to hold the reins, the whole land was in a turmoil until the Archbishops of Bremen and Cologne were appointed to rule with the title of consuls. One was an austere, ascetic monk, the other a brilliant, pleasure-loving statesman. Both had great natural ability, but Adalbert was familiar with all the statesmen and statecraft of the age, of which Hanno knew nothing. The empress retained her son for a time, but Hanno disapproved of her management, and succeeded in luring the young prince on board a swift boat, in which he carried him down the Rhine to Cologne, where he kept him, educating him with great strictness and frequent penances, so that the lad was unhappy and hated his guardian.

Suddenly one day, when the stern Hanno was away from home, the splendid Archbishop of Bremen arrived. He was equal in authority to Hanno, both as consul and as guardian, so he carried the young prince away with him to Bremen, where life was a very different affair from the penitential existence at Cologne.

There everything was arranged to please the young sovereign. Pleasures of every kind were provided. It has been said that Adalbert deliberately trained the prince in a life of self-indulgence and debauchery, but it was his bitter enemies who said it. He was a great gentleman, to whom everything coarse and bad was abhorrent. He was a man with many modern ideas, and he did not believe in the asceticism of monks or the sinfulness of things simply because they were pleasant. He took the young man from the purgatory to which Hanno had kidnapped him from his mother's knees, and he succeeded in making him love and admire him, and the after life of the emperor, though it showed a fiery, untamed, undisciplined spirit, was so full of strength, energy and resource that it is impossible to believe that his youth and early manhood were wasted in systematic debauchery.

In those days, according to the historian Adam, Bremen was a most brilliant little city—probably the most agreeable place in Germany. Adalbert was a very great personage. Consul and co-regent of the empire, custodian of the emperor, and living on the closest terms of friendship with the kings Suein and Gottschalck. All who sought for favours or preferment flocked to the northern city. All Scandinavia looked upon Adalbert as its ecclesiastical head, sending frequent

embassies to him. Representatives were also sent to him from the Orkneys, from Iceland, and even from Greenland, begging him to send missionaries, to consecrate bishops, to build churches or to found sees. In his way he was a great Churchman as well as a great statesman, building and endowing asylums and hospitals, introducing numerous changes in the music and ritual of the Church, and adopting new ceremonies and garments from the Eastern Church. Adam says: "He made our little Bremen second only to Rome in fame, so that pious pilgrims streamed thither from all the ends of the earth." On great festival days he gathered together large numbers of bishops and priests and had splendid services, for "he loved to have everything grand, imposing and magnificent, and he delighted in the smoke of incense, the flashing of candles and the thunder of men's voices." He enjoyed society, and entertained royally. He rarely dined alone, and he always provided his guests with the best of food and drink, though he was himself temperate and abstemious. He said hospitality was sanctioned by God and agreeable to man. He was fond of conversation, especially delighting in witty speeches, humorous surprises and tales of kings and worldly affairs. He was also fond of games. If by any chance he was without guests, he sent for some of his people to come and tell him legends or tales of dreams and mysteries and of strange events, upon which he would make wise and pithy comment. He objected to music during meals, because it interfered with conversation; and, unlike most of his contemporaries, he could not tolerate indecent practical jokes or talk of a lewd sort, and he banished from his table and his presence the popular pantomimists, with their improper and obscene gestures, which were so frequently to be seen at the tables of great men at that period.

He tried to acclimatize useful fruits and vegetables, and did his best to raise the moral standard of his people. He has been accused of hypocrisy because he said, "Be modest and pure if you can, but, if you cannot, at least be prudent and avoid setting a bad example by making your faults public." Another accusation made against him by his enemies (and never denied) was that he took a cold bath every day.

During his whole reign the Duke of Saxony was his implacable enemy. At times he endeavoured to conciliate the Saxon family, and, when he and the young king, Henry IV., marched against Hungary to collect tribute due but not paid, as well as to restore King Salaman, who had been deposed, he

gave an important command to Count Herimann, the duke's brother. The expedition was completely successful, but Herimann chose to assume that the success was due solely to his personal ability, and to demand one of the great dukedoms as his reward. When this was refused he raised an army and marched upon Bremen, which he sacked, plundering all of the surrounding country, which belonged to the Church, and carrying off all the cattle. The result was an appeal to the emperor and the banishment of Count Herimann. A year later the count was permitted to return on condition that he and his brother, the duke, should make a solemn pilgrimage to the cathedral at Bremen and present fifty farms to the Church. At the same time the emperor himself sent a costly gift to the cathedral, and gave the archbishop the patronage of the two great abbeys at Corbay and Lorsch, with the coveted temporal lordship of Lesum.

Adalbert was now lord of fifty estates, so that he was sovereign of a large part of his diocese. Some of these estates he had received as gifts from the emperor, many he had purchased, confiscating the treasures of the Church for the buying of three counties which appeared to him desirable. He regarded this as the best possible investment, longing, as he did, for the day when no one in the diocese should owe feudal service to the Duke of Saxony or to any one but the emperor or the Church. When his enemies found fault with him for robbing the churches of their treasures, he said that the wealth and influence of the Church would be so much increased by these purchases that he should soon be able to replace the silver vessels which he had taken with golden ones enriched with gems.

He seemed to be on the point of realizing his two ambitions. He was—or the Church which he represented was—lord over a great part of his diocese, and it is believed that the emperor had promised to make him completely independent. It has also been believed that the pope had agreed to elevate Bremen to a patriarchate, not independent of Rome, but including within its jurisdiction all the dioceses of north Germany and Slavonia and the proposed three archbishoprics of Scandinavia.

It was from this summit of his ambitions that the great man fell in the fateful year 1066. His seizure of the cathedral plate was made the excuse for a combined attack. The great princes threatened rebellion, the great prelates, with Hildebrand back of them, urged that he was unfit for his post, and, at a council held at Treves, the emperor, sorely against his will, was com-

pelled to sign a decree declaring Adalbert to be an enemy of the realm, guilty of sorcery and sacrilege, and dismissing him from Court and council. Guizot says the archbishop tried to induce the young emperor to carry off the imperial regalia and fly with him, but that the plan was discovered, the palace was surrounded, and Adalbert narrowly escaped with his life.

The fallen man returned to Bremen, but the Duke of Saxony, Magnus, promptly marched against him, and the archbishop fled, in disguise, to a castle which he owned in the Harz, near Goslar, where he lay concealed for six months. At the end of that time he made an abject submission to the duke, giving up to him absolutely the counties in Frisia and one-third of all the other estates of the Church in his diocese. Another third he was compelled to hand over to Count Udo. Thus only one-third of the property he had spent his life in accumulating was left to the Church. The duke's share alone included more than a thousand farms.

About this time the persistent Slavs and Wends revolted again, threw off the yoke of Christianity, and murdered King Gottschalck and most of the bishops and priests. John Scotus, an Irishman, who was Bishop of Mecklenburg, was horribly tortured before being offered as a sacrifice to the god Radegast in his great temple at Rethra, the Slavic capital.

The queen was publicly whipped and sent naked to Denmark with her two sons. The rebels marched on Hamburg, which was once more destroyed. The archbishop and his diocese were thus at the same moment suddenly precipitated from the highest pinnacle of prosperity into a sea of wretchedness and misery. During the next three years Bremen was misgoverned by the agents of the absent duke, while the archbishop led a very retired life, devoting himself wholly to the services of the cathedral, and looking on at the world going to pieces around him. Slavonia was in violent insurrection, Sweden was involved in civil war, England was invaded by the Normans, and the emperor was at war with several of his great vassals. The little city, but lately so splendid, was ruined, the markets were abandoned, wolves were at times seen in the deserted, grassy streets.

In 1069 the emperor triumphed, for a time, over his rebellious princes, and at once sent for Adalbert, restored him to all his former offices, and created the new post of viceroy for him.

Once more at the head of affairs, he tried to conciliate the princes, and especially his former colleague, Hanno of Cologne.

That stern prelate was, however, completely under the influence of Hildebrand, the bitterest enemy of Adalbert and his policy.

The Duke of Saxony was in rebellion, and Adalbert arranged a meeting at Lüneburg between the emperor, Henry IV., and the King of Denmark, at which a treaty of offence and defence against Saxony was signed.

Otto of Nordheim, Duke of Bavaria, plotted against the emperor, but Adalbert discovered the conspiracy and captured and banished the duke. Worn and broken in health, he nevertheless accompanied the emperor everywhere, carried in a litter.

Henry promised him that at the coming council at Utrecht the dreams of his life should be realized, the patriarchate established, and the temporal independence of his diocese declared. That time, however, never came, for the old man broke down suddenly and died at Goslar, March 16, 1072.

His body was carried to Bremen and buried in the new cathedral on the twenty-fifth of the same month.

All his plans had failed, his policy in the empire was reversed. The dukes of Bavaria and Saxony and the party of Hildebrand triumphed, while the diocese of Bremen was far poorer and less important than when he came to it. Yet he filled a great place in the world in his day, and with a little more success he might have done for Germany in the eleventh century what Richelieu did for France more than five centuries later. Had his policy been successful, the Middle Ages would have seen a strong, united Germany, the greatest power in Christendom; the popes would have been bishops of Rome, perhaps head of the Church, but certainly never political arbiters of Europe, for the emperor would never have gone to Canossa.

During a part of the period just described there was an official of the diocese named Adam, a scholar and a man of parts who perhaps deserves as well as any other to be called the father of modern history. He wrote with impartiality and a love of truth, and is the chief, and in some cases the only, authority for several centuries of the history of northern Germany. He is perhaps the greatest and most interesting author of his time. It is to him that we are indebted for what we know of Adalbert and his contemporaries more than to any other. His reference to Vinland in his book written in the eleventh century is one of the strongest reasons for believing that Léif Ericson and his companions discovered America centuries before Columbus was born.

CHAPTER V

LIEMAR

IN 1072 Liemar succeeded to what was left of the diocese of Bremen. He reigned for twenty-nine of the most agitating years of German history. He was a close friend and valued counsellor of Henry IV., and as such was an especial object of hatred to the Billung family. The emperor, distrusting all the Saxons, but especially their ducal family, fortified his favourite residence, Goslar, and built castles in various parts of the duchy, that at Harzburg being very strong.

The deposed Duke of Bavaria, Otto of Nordheim, and the Saxons and Thuringians conspired together and raised the standard of rebellion. They surprised Goslar, captured and destroyed the Harzburg and other castles, and very nearly captured the emperor himself. The whole realm was ablaze, and nearly every one seemed to be against Henry, except the city of Worms, in spite of its archbishop, and the Archbishop of Bremen, in spite of his city, so that the emperor was once more compelled to make humiliating terms with the rebels.

Of the struggles which ensued, the changes of opinion, the overthrow of the Saxons, and the terrible struggle with Hildebrand I need say but little here. The Archbishop of Bremen was always faithful, and nearly always personally with the emperor. When the new pope (Hildebrand was now Gregory VII.) began his attack on the empire and the German Church, Liemar wrote of him as "that dangerous man," and was the foremost in the unsuccessful opposition to Gregory's new claims. The pope summoned him to Rome, but the archbishop refused to go, so he was excommunicated, about a year before the same punishment was meted to the emperor. Liemar took no part in the Synod of Worms which declared the papacy vacant and placed Gregory under the imperial ban, to which the pope replied with the terrible bull dethroning Henry and releasing all his vassals from their oaths of allegiance.

The war which followed resulted in the emperor's complete defeat and his famous pilgrimage to Canossa, with Liemar as almost his only companion. He was the emperor's spokesman with the terrible pope. After this complete submission Henry returned to Germany, only to encounter fresh rebellion and a

rival emperor set up by Otto of Nordheim and the Saxons, backed by the pope. Liemar at once accused Gregory of having broken his word, given at Canossa, and was active in working against him. He called the Council of Brixen which deposed Gregory and nominated Wibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, as Pope Clement III.

Liemar was in the battle where Henry triumphed over his rival, who was slain by Godfrey of Bouillon, and he also accompanied Henry when he once more invaded Italy, captured Rome, and was crowned emperor by Clement III. whilst the terrible Gregory, shut up in the Castle of St. Angelo, hurled ineffectual curses at them all.

The archbishop continued to take part in all public affairs until his death, but two events were of especial importance to Bremen. When Henry IV. was besieging the Castle of Gleichen, in Thuringia, the archbishop was surprised and captured by the Count of Supplenburg (afterwards the Emperor Lothar). He ransomed himself by paying three hundred marks silver and promising to make the count Constable of Bremen, a promise which led to serious trouble long afterwards.

The other event was a dispute with King Eric the Good of Denmark, which resulted in that monarch denouncing the ecclesiastical supremacy of Bremen, declaring the archbishop to be schismatic, and accepting the anti-pope, Urban II., as Pope Gregory's successor, instead of Clement, who had been acknowledged by the German bishops. This ultimately led to the establishment of Scandinavian archbishops and the severance of the whole of Scandinavia from the jurisdiction of Bremen. This did not, however, take place until 1103, when Liemar was dead and Humbert had succeeded him.

Of this Humbert very little is known. It was during his time that Bremen lost Scandinavia, apparently because of an intrigue of Pope Urban, who sought in this way to weaken the imperial power. Humbert was succeeded by Friederich, whose power was very limited. Hamburg and Bremen alone remained without a single suffragan, and Count Lothar taxed and ruled the city of Bremen. The new archbishop was merely the ecclesiastical head of a small diocese.

There were, however, large tracts of marshlands surrounding the city, and extending as far as the sea, which were not taken from him, because they were worthless. With both income and prestige so greatly reduced, Archbishop Friederich looked about for some means of improving his condition. The glory of the

"northern Rome" was indeed departed, but it might, perhaps, be partially restored. A Dutch syndicate obtained a concession from the archbishop, under which they had the privilege of draining these lands and selling them to settlers. Some of the land now occupied by the city of Bremen was reclaimed at that time.

The immigrants who came to these new lands were chiefly Frisians, with some Hollanders from the neighbourhood of Utrecht. They were to pay a small ground-rent and reduced tithes, and were to receive a perpetual lease, accompanied by no feudal service. The archbishop thus increased the population of his diocese and added to his income. The new scheme also made it possible for the circumscribed city of Bremen largely to extend her boundaries.

The last man of the Billung family died about this time, and Count Lothar became Duke of Saxony. As he was also Constable of the city of Bremen, the archbishop was completely hemmed in, and he was entirely too weak to make any sort of a fight against this powerful and successful neighbour, with whom he lived at peace for eighteen years. During this time he minutely examined the diocesan archives, hoping to discover some papal decree or other documents which might give him claims which Scandinavia could not refuse to recognize. Archbishop Adalbert had at one time been appointed apostolic vicar, and as Archbishop Friederich thought it would be of great advantage to the diocese if a similar appointment had been given to Archbishop Ansgar, an earlier bishop, with a clause making it a perpetual office attached to the province of Bremen, he had documents to that effect duly prepared, and he also had clauses confirming these false documents carefully inserted in authentic documents. Having thus, as he thought, done a good work for his successors, he peacefully passed away, and was buried near his predecessors in the cathedral at Bremen.

Adelbero, who succeeded him, reigned a long time, and made several ineffectual attempts to regain the lost importance and power. He presented the forged documents to the Lateran Council in 1123, and, backed by the emperor, Henry V., he received from Rome the coveted reinstatement as archbishop over a province including all Scandinavia. The Bishop of Lund and the northern kings refused to recognize his authority or to obey the orders from Rome.

In 1133 Pope Innocent II. issued a bull recognizing Aldebero's claims and exhorting the kings and bishops to obedience; but

again the Scandinavians refused to pay any attention to the papal commands.

Convinced of the futility of his attempts to restore Scandinavia to Bremen, but determined to be obeyed, the pope changed his plans. He declared that Scandinavia was completely independent of Bremen, and appointed the Bishop of Lund archbishop and primate. This move was successful, as the northern authorities obeyed at once. Adelbero made one further effort by addressing a personal appeal to the pope in 1139, and then the incident was closed.

In 1125 Lothar was made emperor, and the archbishop hoped that he might give up his clutch upon Bremen and even help him in other ways. Vicelin, a Bremen monk, was appointed missionary bishop to the Wends living east of the Elbe, and the Slavs and Wends submitted to the emperor, who then went to Rome, accompanied by Adelbero, who there made appeals which convinced both emperor and pope; but, as we have seen, they had no effect on Scandinavia, and the emperor decided not to give up his lordship of Bremen.

When Lothar died, in 1137, his rights over Bremen were also expected to expire, as they had been given to him personally as a ransom for an archbishop thirty years before.

The dukedom of Saxony had been given by Lothar, when he became emperor, to his son-in-law, Henry the Proud of Bavaria, whose mother was a daughter of the last male Billung. With the duchies of Bavaria, Saxony and Luneburg already his, it was generally believed that Henry would be chosen by the electors to succeed Lothar as emperor, and the archbishop hoped the city might be returned to him, though the people of Bremen had found the immediate overlordship of the emperor so advantageous that, as far as they dared, they opposed the claims of the Church, though at that time the influence of the people was of little value.

In 1138, to the surprise of all Saxony, Henry failed to be elected, and Conrad of Hohenstauffen was chosen emperor. The new ruler ordered Henry to resign one of his duchies, and, when he refused, deposed him from all three, and appointed Albert the Bear as Duke of Saxony. Albert was a cousin of the deposed Henry, his mother having also been a daughter of the last male Billung. He was believed to have been largely responsible for the election of Conrad and the consequent defeat of Henry, and he was especially obnoxious to the Duke of Saxony and most of his great vassals.

A civil war began, in which Adelbero sided with Albert, who was at first victorious. Soon, however, the partisans of Henry rallied, defeated the imperial forces, and surprised and plundered Bremen. In the midst of this success Henry the Proud unexpectedly died, and Albert marched again to Bremen. Adelbero, who had expected that at least the government of the town, which was his by right, might be given him as a reward for his faithful adherence to Albert, found that that prince's plan was to have himself publicly proclaimed as lord of Bremen, as one of the rights pertaining to the Dukes of Saxony.

This would have been done, but some of the adherents of Henry the Proud met, and, declaring his son Henry the Lion to be their leader, took sudden possession of Bremen, whence Albert, not expecting resistance, was obliged to fly. Henry the Lion promptly carried out Albert's plan. He had himself declared Duke of Saxony, and annexed Bremen to his duchy.

The much-troubled archbishop, in spite of the troublous times, founded the church and monastery of St. Stephen on a low hillock which was then without the walls, for even then the city had begun to grow in the direction where the great new harbour has been constructed.

CHAPTER VI

BREMEN AND HENRY THE LION

FROM his first appearance in Bremen until the end Henry the Lion was haughty, cruel and despotic, treating the archbishop as well as the citizens with injustice and contempt. Archbishop Adelbero had the misfortune to see the young leader of the Guelfs take possession of the overlordship of Bremen as of a right inherited from Lothar, who had only received a life interest in it. Adelbero struggled in vain against his fate, appealing in person to both pope and emperor. He made friends with Henry and became his adviser, and the spiritual leader of his crusade against the Slavs, in the hope that some portion of the lost importance of the see might be given him as a reward, but his power was still further reduced. The county of Stade belonged to the diocese, and had been ruled by the counts of Stade as vassals of the archbishop. When Rudorf, the last of these counts, died, Henry declared that the county had fallen to him,

as Duke of Saxony, and took and held it until his fall, despite the protests of the Church.

Adelbero died 1148, and the cathedral chapters of Hamburg and Bremen met and chose Hartwig, a son of the last count of Stade, to be archbishop. It was believed that he, if any one, could defend the Church against the grasping duke. He was a man of great force of character, culture and wisdom, noble birth and courage. For twenty years he defended the Church against the duke, for twenty years conducted a struggle in which he was always loser. He died before Henry's fall, a disappointed, beaten man, yet the chronicler Arnold says that his contemporaries called him "Hartwig the Great." He tried once more to have Scandinavia restored to Bremen, but the pope's reply to his appeal was the creation of two new Scandinavian archbishops, Upsala in Sweden and Drontjheim in Norway. Two of the old suffragan sees were restored to Bremen, Aldenburg and Mecklenburg, but when Hartwig was about to appoint new bishops to fill those vacant sees, Henry again intervened, claimed, as Duke of Saxony, the right of appointment, and Rome recognized his claim. Thus the Church as then established in Slavic lands was independent of Bremen and entirely in the Duke's hands.

The archbishop waited until 1154, when Henry went to join the emperor in Italy, and then stirred up revolt among the many enemies the duke had made. He marched against, and took, the castles in the county of Stade, and then hurried southwards to induce the duke's enemies there to join the insurrection.

The duke heard of the revolt and came back so suddenly that Hartwig, for more than a year, was unable to get back to his diocese. The bishop of Halberstadt had joined the archbishop, and Henry avenged himself by accusing both of them of treason to the emperor because they had not joined his army in Italy.

The emperor declared both prelates were guilty and their personal effects were confiscated. The duke, who could be small as well as great at times, sent an envoy at once to Bremen to proclaim this judgment and to take possession of the archbishop's table-ware and clothing. Shortly after the duke himself appeared, drove out the representatives of the Church, and compelled the people to do homage to him as their duke—a new and, until then, unheard-of claim.

Hartwig had brought numbers of Hollanders and Frisians on to newly reclaimed lands on the west banks of the Weser, and



ANCIENT BRONZE FONT IN BREMEN CATHEDRAL, TWELFTH CENTURY

some of these, when attending the fair in Bremen, were taken and hanged by Henry, as a warning, he said, to others. He ruled the city so harshly that when, in the spring of 1167, there was another revolt against the duke, the citizens of Bremen joined the insurrection and assisted in driving away the duke who had marched against them. Christian of Oldenburg, who headed the revolt, was welcomed by the citizens with joy, but in a short time Henry returned with a larger army, drove Count Christian, with many of the men of Bremen, into the marshes, where they perished, and again took possession of the city. The archbishop—who was in Hamburg—hurried to intercede—there had been some sort of reconciliation between him and the duke—but with difficulty persuaded Henry to spare the city and to forgive the citizens. He grumblingly accepted a fine of a thousand marks instead.

The poor archbishop was so continually suing for some grace, or mercy, or pardon, that he was jestingly called the duke's chaplain.

After his death two candidates were chosen, part of the chapter voting for Siegfried, a son of Albert the Bear, an hereditary enemy of Henry the Lion; while part preferred Otbert Dean of Bremen. The rivals were both in Bremen when Henry sent Count Schwerin to drive them with all their adherents out of the diocese. This was promptly done and the duke invested his own chaplain, Baldwin. Of this archbishop, who occupied the throne for ten years, Arnold, the chronicler says: "It is better to be silent than to speak of his life." After his death, in 1178, the duke was in disgrace and no longer able to force a candidate upon the see. The emperor intervened, replaced the Bishop of Halberstadt, who had been driven out by the duke, and invested Siegfried, son of Albert the Bear, who was already Bishop of Brandenburg, as Archbishop of Bremen and successor of Hartwig, thus ignoring the late Baldwin. The chapter in Bremen, influenced by the duke, nominated Bertold, a priest of Cologne. Both claimants appeared at the Lateran Council with great retinues of adherents. Those of Siegfried were led by the Count of Oldenburg, and those of Bertold by the Provost of St. Willehad's in Bremen. The pope rejected Siegfried; but within a year Henry the Lion had been overthrown, his candidate, Bertold, had disappeared, and Siegfried had been installed and recognized by both pope and emperor.

The banishment of Henry and the partition of his dominions took place 1181.

The new archbishop found himself at the head of a greater see than any of his recent predecessors. He was lord of Bremen, and Stade had been restored to him. He sold for cash to immigrants great tracts of marshlands, offering as inducements, complete freedom from feudal service, a smaller percentage of both tax and tithe, and the right of the settlers to choose their own magistrates. Sturdy farmers flocked to the new lands from Frisia and the Netherlands, attracted by these liberal terms.

In the city, Siegfried made himself popular by reducing the terrible taxes imposed by the duke, and removing certain onerous imposts on ships coming from other ports. The citizens, almost to a man, were opposed to the duke, but among the clergy was a strong Guelf party who resented the presence of the new archbishop, and even tried to have him removed, accusing him, to the pope, of pride and an undue love of splendour. The chief accusation was that, robed in costly furs, he drove about the diocese with horses whose trappings were made of gold. The intrigue failed, but Siegfried did not long survive. He was an old man when he finally became archbishop, and he died in October 1184, mourned for by all the common people.

The election of Hartwig von Utlede, notary to Henry the Lion, and Canon of Bremen, was regarded as a distinct triumph for the Guelf party. As soon as his name was announced as the choice of the chapter he started for Italy, and there succeeded in gaining both papal and imperial sanction. In the spring of 1185 he was back in Bremen and hard at work. At first he showed so much energy and wisdom that he won the approval of all parties. It was at this time that the brotherhood and church of St. Ansgar were founded.

When Henry the Lion returned from banishment, in 1185, he naturally made advances to his old notary, now become archbishop, but they were very coldly received. Although he owed his election to the Guelf party, the time-serving Hartwig, fearing to compromise himself, refused an invitation to meet the duke, who was head of that party, and family. On the other hand, he curried favour with the citizens, and in 1186 marched with a stately following of ecclesiastics to meet the emperor on his return from Italy.

On this occasion he presented the petition of the citizens asking for certain privileges, which the emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, granted at Gelnhausen, where he held his court. The document confirming the grant still exists, and is both

interesting and important. In it Frederick recognizes the loyalty of the city of Bremen, and confirms the rights which Charlemagne had conferred upon the city at the request of St. Willihad. As no one knew what those rights were, or if Charlemagne really conferred any, this may be taken as a mere complimentary introduction or preamble, after which three new laws were explicitly mentioned, granting privileges meant to render life and property in Bremen more secure. It is believed that



OLDEST BREMEN SEAL—WILLIHAD AND CHARLEMAGNE, 1238

some sort of council or fore-runner of the senate must have already existed, into whose hands the emperor entrusted this precious parchment.

Dr. von Bippen, to whom I am indebted for a large part of my information, thinks it was Hartwig II who first recognized the authority of a city council—elective no doubt—as representing the whole body of citizens and competent to transact business for the city, which was now free from the galling yoke of the dukes of Saxony. The council has continued down to the present day.

Hartwig began his reign by winning golden opinions from all

parties, more especially from the citizens; but this fortunate state of affairs lasted only two years.

From Count Adolf of Holstein the archbishop had acquired the land of Dietmarsch, near the mouth of the Elbe, but he had been unable to collect the tithes and taxes from its sturdy and obstreperous inhabitants. So, in 1188, he sent an army to bring the people to a realizing sense of their duty. They submitted without a struggle, but scarcely was the episcopal army withdrawn when the Dietmarschers offered themselves and their country to the King of Denmark, who promptly accepted, and Hartwig found himself deprived of his new country, and at the same time pressed by the Counts of Holstein and Oldenburg for payment for the troops he had hired from them for the Dietmarsch expedition.

In order to meet these obligations he seized monies belonging to ecclesiastical foundations, and imposed a special tax of two hundred marks silver on the city, thus making enemies of the clergy and the citizens. The former appealed to the pope, the latter to the emperor. Frederick at once ordered the archbishop to recall his edict levying the new tax and commanded him to content himself with what the citizens might choose to contribute of their own free will.

This prompt and decisive action disgusted the archbishop with the emperor and he determined once more to join the Guelf party. It seemed to him to be a good time to turn his coat. The emperor, with most of his great vassals and a vast following, marched away to the Holy Land. Henry the Lion, in his banishment—for a second time—in England, received an invitation from Hartwig to come back, as the time was ripe for his return, and now, if ever, he could strike a successful blow for the recovery of his estates and his power.

The duke broke his oath and returned at once, and to him the archbishop promptly handed over the county and town of Stade. Holstein, Lübeck, Hamburg, and other places were captured, and it looked as if the Guelf duke were once more to become the most powerful of German princes. However, Adolf, Count of Holstein, who was with the emperor, hearing of the invasion, hurried back from Palestine to try to recover his lands. Very soon after, Frederick Barbarossa was drowned, and his son Henry, who succeeded him, showed so much energy and ability that Henry the Lion thought it well to submit to him.

The wily archbishop had fallen between two stools. The

citizens of Bremen drove him out of their town, and the young emperor, regarding him as the chief instigator of Henry the Lion's actions, was so enraged that Hartwig deemed it prudent to take ship to England. His income was confiscated. That portion which was derived from the city was given back to the city, and the rest, with the county and town of Stade, went as indemnity to Count Adolf of Holstein, whose lands had been the scene of most of the duke's raid.

For the five following years Bremen was completely her own mistress, and made the most of her opportunities by acquiring new privileges and establishing more favourable conditions.

In 1191, Hartwig, the emperor being in Italy, returned to Germany. Not venturing to visit Bremen, he joined Henry the Lion who was at war with Adolf of Holstein. That prince, assisted by the citizens of Bremen, had regained the lands and fortress of Stade from the Guelfs, who had taken it, and had then marched to Holstein to reconquer his own country. It was at this moment that Hartwig re-entered his diocese at the head of an army, pillaging and destroying.

Nothing could exceed the misery and confusion which existed everywhere in the north of Germany. All of Saxony and Holstein were overrun by armies and torn by partisan disputes. The private individual had no rights which any one thought of respecting. Trade was paralyzed, and the nobles, when not at war with their neighbours for personal reasons, were taking sides with the greater nobles against each other, or away with the emperor fighting the Italians. No one, whether papal or imperial in his convictions, had any idea of the sanctity of an oath, or the rights of property.

Might was right, and the only glimmerings of integrity were to be found among the merchants, in the towns, and the free peasants of the marshlands.

At this time the clergy of Bremen sent ambassadors to the pope, armed with well-filled purses and a petition that Hartwig might be deposed. Without waiting for a reply they at once, with the consent of the emperor, chose as his successor Waldemar of Schleswig, a cousin of the King of Denmark.

The bribe sent to the pope was not considered large enough, and the pope sided with Hartwig. Waldemar, who was at war with his cousin, the king, started for Bremen, but fell into the hands of the king, who threw him into a dungeon where he passed the next thirteen years.

Meantime, the adherents of Duke Henry the Lion and those

of Count Adolf of Holstein marched to and fro; success crowning the efforts first of one then of the other, but the people always suffering.

The pope, who had now become wholly Guelf in his sympathies, intrigued for the restoration of Hartwig, and, after Henry the Lion's final submission, the emperor no longer opposed it. So the archbishop signed a treaty of peace with his clergy. He was compelled to admit in writing that he alone was the cause of all the terrible confusion which prevailed throughout the diocese, and to promise not to attempt to dispose of any of the property of the Church, or of any of its income without the consent of the chapter. He was also obliged to personally notify the pope and the emperor what the conditions were and that he had accepted them.

But the citizens of Bremen and the Count of Holstein utterly refused to trust the archbishop. He was permitted to return to the city for the purpose of attending to his episcopal duties, but he was not allowed to remain more than forty-eight hours at a time, nor would the city pay any part of his income to him unless instructed to do so by the emperor.

Hartwig felt these insults so keenly that he excommunicated the citizens, the count, and the whole diocese.

Both sides appealed to the pope, but, meanwhile, all religious services ceased in Bremen. There was no one to bury the dead or to baptize the children. Marriages could not be solemnized, nor were masses or confessions heard. In the belief of that day, all persons dying under these circumstances went straight to hell, without the option of a fine, and the archbishop enjoyed the idea. But instead of bringing the people to terms this melancholy state of things made them furious. They declared all of the priests to be enemies of the city and of the emperor, and drove them all out except a few who barricaded themselves in the cathedral, where they managed to exist—probably aided by some pious friends among the citizens.

The pope again stood by the archbishop, and sent the archbishop of Cologne with the bishops of Osnabrück and Münster to assist him, but, though all three wielded the thunderbolts of Rome, the people were wrought up to such a pitch of rage, and were so convinced that the archbishop was unjust and that the emperor would uphold them, that they would not yield an inch. They even found monks who, despite the ban of the Church, ministered to their religious requirements.

In the summer of 1195, Henry VI. came back victorious from

Italy, and the Bremen question came before him at Gelnhausen. The archbishop was thoroughly beaten at all points. He was compelled to pay the emperor a fine of six hundred marks silver; to remove the interdict; to leave the government of Stade and two-thirds of its income to Count Adolf, and to recognize and approve of all the new laws and privileges of the city of Bremen.

About this time, according to Dr. von Bippen, the old church of St. Veit was almost entirely torn down and replaced by a larger and more suitable building, which was withdrawn from the especial protection of St. Vitus and dedicated to the Holy Virgin. As I have already stated, some portions of the older edifice remain, incorporated in the newer building which was, as the mother parish church, the place in which public meetings for all purposes were held. It had been built with that object in view. The cathedral was also restored and beautified. The vaulting of the roof was begun, as was also the rich decoration of the west front.

These were the works of peace, and peace never came often or lasted long. This peace began in 1195, and two years later Hartwig was taking part in a new crusade when he heard of the death of the emperor and hastened home. He found all Germany in civil war, with two duly elected claimants for the imperial crown, Otto IV., son of Henry the Lion, and Philip, Duke of Suabia. The city of Bremen had declared for Philip, whilst the archbishop was for the Guelf. When, however, Philip gained victory after victory, Hartwig, whose nature does not appear to have been changed by his visit to the Holy Sepulchre, transferred his allegiance to the winning side, and made a point of being present with the other German princes at the court which Philip held at Magdeburg in 1199.

The defeated Guelf party allied itself with Denmark and, in 1201, a mixed army of Danes and Germans overran and occupied Dietmarsch and Holstein, and captured Hamburg and Lübeck. Count Adolf III. of Holstein was defeated and captured.

Otto, aided by his brothers and the pope, was once more favoured by fortune. He recognized the assistance of the Danes and rewarded them by the gift of all the German country they had captured, but proceeded, himself, to take possession of his hereditary dukedom of Saxony. The unlucky Hartwig had again made a mistake by abandoning the Guelfs just as they were once more coming into power. They seized Bremen, and

took the archbishop himself prisoner. He ransomed himself by resigning his claims upon Stade to the pfalsgrave Henry, Otto's brother, to whom he was also compelled to grant the overlordship of the city of Bremen, with all its rights of coinage and taxation.

Thus the city and diocese found themselves once more in the same position as when under the tyranny of Henry the Lion, the father of their new lord. This was in 1202. Two years later the pfalsgrave Henry quarrelled with his brother Otto and deserted him, joining the party of Philip; and Stade and Bremen were once more restored to the miserable archbishop who, during a long reign of twenty-two years, had so signally failed. He began his career brilliantly and—apparently because he was totally devoid of principle and had bad judgment—he ruined himself and his diocese and died, despised, in 1207.

Holstein and Hamburg were still in the hands of the Danes. Waldemar, Bishop of Schleswig, after spending thirteen years in a dungeon, had been released by his cousin Waldemar, King of Denmark, on condition that he left Denmark never to return. The bishop accepted the condition and went to Italy. He was a friend of Philip and a bitter enemy of the Guelfs. The Bremen clergy, with the exception of Burchard, the dean, were also adherents of the Ghibbelin party, and, perhaps because Denmark insisted upon regarding Hamburg as the capital of the diocese, they elected Waldemar the bishop to spite Waldemar the king. The messenger of the chapter found their choice at Bologna, where they notified him of his election. The King of Denmark and the Hamburg chapter protested and Pope Innocent III. refused to recognize him, but Waldemar, with characteristic energy, hastened to Bremen, where he was received with so much enthusiasm that no one was found who was bold enough to publish the interdict which the pope had sent close after him.

Archbishop Waldemar, disregarding his oath, as was usual in those days, with princes both lay and clerical, marched at the head of an army, as soon as he could get one together, against his cousin, the King of Denmark. That monarch had ordered the chapter at Hamburg to elect an archbishop, and they chose Burchard, Dean of Bremen. The king invested him, treating Bremen as a Danish see. The rival archbishops, each at the head of an army, fought for possession of Stade, one having headquarters at Bremen, the other at Hamburg.

The newly settled marshlands, known as Stedingen, had

developed a hardy race of free peasants; Waldemar called upon these to help him.

Though, by especial charter, they owed no feudal service, they responded to Waldemar's appeal with alacrity, and became the backbone of his victorious army, routing Burchard and his Danes. Waldemar's triumph was but a short one, for in June 1208 Philip of Hohenstaufen was murdered, and his rival, Otto the Guelf, Duke of Saxony, was universally recognized as emperor.

All parties now submitted to Otto IV., who severed his alliance with the Danes. Burchard, seeing himself deserted by his Danish friends, gave up the contest, but Waldemar was none the better off, for the Bremen chapter, yielding to papal pressure, declared their former action void and the throne vacant; after which they elected Gerhard, Count of Oldenburg, archbishop.

And now followed one of the most singular episodes in the history of Bremen.

Waldemar, in spite of pope and chapter, held to his post, and was encouraged to do so by the emperor and his powerful brother, the landgrave, who had returned to his allegiance. For six or seven years the pope and Frederick of Hohenstaufen, the arch-Ghibbeline, were allied with Gerhard; and Otto IV., chief of the Guelfs, the pope's usual friends, sided with Waldemar.

The citizens of Bremen were also for Waldemar. He was their own candidate; and then, too, they were also especially friendly with Otto, who had written a letter to his uncle, King John of England, which had resulted in some valuable privileges being granted to Bremen merchants in London. The landgrave, who had regained Stade, was a staunch friend of Waldemar; but that prelate's most important allies were the brave and sturdy marshland peasants, the Stedingers. With such aid he ignored the pope's ban, and successfully resisted repeated attacks from Oldenburg on the west, and from Denmark on the east.

The Stedingers, who rightfully regarded the Counts of Oldenburg as dangerous neighbours for a free people, in 1212 and 1213 repeatedly defeated them and destroyed several castles in the vicinity of Bremen which belonged to the counts or their friends.

CHAPTER VII

THE STEDINGERS

SOME years before this the counts of Oldenburg had cast envious eyes upon Stedingen, whose broad, well-drained lands marched with their own dominions, and, with the purpose of gradually subjecting the independent inhabitants, they had built two castles, the Leinenburg and the Leichtenburg, within the Stedingen boundaries. Small garrisons were placed in these with the idea of gradually encroaching upon the country and subjugating the people. But the rough soldiers who formed these garrisons were not of a kind to wait patiently upon opportunity, or to carry out a policy of slow and gradual aggression. Before long the land was filled with tales of their wild orgies, lawless deeds and contempt of the rights and feelings of the people.

Complaints of robbery and violence were constantly made to Oldenburg, but met with no response. Matters grew steadily worse. No one was safe. The soldiers treated the free people as if they were serfs. They plundered the farms, and attacked the peasants on their way home from the scattered churches, beating the men and carrying the women off to detain them in their castles for ransom or dishonour.

The peasants, who had been enjoying their own lands and charter liberties for two or three generations, were entirely unaccustomed to this sort of thing, so familiar to the wretched peasantry elsewhere in Germany. They were furiously indignant, and, having failed to gain redress from Oldenburg, they took matters into their own hands. A public meeting was held in a forest near the Brokdyke, where, amid great excitement, it was decided that the castles should be destroyed and the garrisons driven out of the land. To enforce this resolution a very simple plan was adopted. The men divided into two bands, one marching to the stronghold on the banks of the Weser, the other to that near the little river Hunte. They announced that they had come to remonstrate against the recent outrages and to ask for redress. The garrisons, despising them, and never dreaming that peasants could venture to attack warriors, admitted them within the gates. The farmers, whose arms were concealed beneath their cloaks, at once surprised and overpowered the soldiers, and drove such as survived

out of the land. Then they destroyed the castles and returned to their homes, having given the counts of Oldenburg a strong hint which greatly annoyed that family.

This was done in the time of Hartwig II., and that prelate had had too many troubles of his own to care to take any part in this quarrel; but the peasants had at least one war with him, and there is a characteristic tale as to its cause—

The priests, like the lay lords of the neighbourhood, looked with greed upon the rich peasants and made many efforts to extort more money from them. They especially exhorted them to contribute largely to the collections taken up in the churches. The wife of Bolko von Bardenfleth, one of the chief men among the Stedingers, went, the day before Easter, to confession in the church at Berne, and, on leaving, laid a coin called a flinderkin on the altar. The priest thought this was too small a gift from the wife of so rich a man, so, next day, at the administration of the sacrament, he placed the flinderkin, instead of the consecrated wafer, in the woman's mouth. She was terrified when she found something hard upon her tongue, believing that some sort of miracle had taken place. She hastened home, and, removing the substance from her mouth with a clean napkin, found it to be the coin she had given at confession the day before.

Her husband, indignant at the insult, as well as at the godlessness of the priest, denounced him to his superiors, but met with ridicule and contempt, while the priest himself boasted of the joke. Bolko von Bardenfleth then took the matter into his own hands. Calling his friends and relatives together he told them the facts, and together they rode to Berne, and when the priest came out of the church Bolko drew his sword and slew him. The archbishop demanded that the murderer should be given up; the Stedingers refused, offering the usual blood money instead. The archbishop declined the offer, and excommunicated the whole people, who, thereupon, refused to pay tithes, and so the war began.

Whether this tale be true or not, there is no doubt that in Waldemar's time the Stedingers were his chief support. So long as they were true to him he was able to withstand his rival Gerhard, and to capture Stade.

In 1213 the Stedingers marched past the city and attacked and destroyed the Rhiensberg, a castle which had been built dangerously near the city walls—its site is now part of a cemetery used by Bremen people.

In 1216 the pope appealed directly to the Stedingers, who consequently abandoned Waldemar, whose cause was therefore lost.

The peasants, because of the pope's request, transferred their services to Gerhard, who at once crossed the Weser and marched upon Bremen whilst the Danes invaded the diocese from the east. The citizens of Bremen made peace with Gerhard, who, however, was compelled to recognize and confirm every right and privilege ever exercised or claimed by the citizens, before they opened the gates to him.

Waldemar's friends, the Emperor Otto and the pfalsgrave, made a dashing raid through the diocese as a last effort in his behalf, and then he gave up, and spent the last fifteen years of his extraordinary life in the monastery at Locum, where he died at a great age in 1236.

Gerhard I. entered Bremen 1217. The next year the Emperor Otto, deserted by every one, died in a lonely castle in the Harz mountains, and in 1219 Gerhard I. died shortly after receiving his summons to meet the new emperor, Frederick II., at Frankfort.

Gerhard I. was succeeded by Gerhard II., who had been dean of Paderborn, and was a son of a remarkable man called Bernhard zu Lippe, a brave soldier and famous knight, who had been a trusted comrade of Henry the Lion. Becoming suddenly convinced of his sins he gave up the world and entered a Cistercian monastery of which he in time became abbot. Afterwards he was made Abbot of Dunamuende and Bishop of Livonia. His elder son Otto had already been made Bishop of Utrecht, and joined in the laying on of hands at his father's consecration. Both father and son assisted in the consecration of Archbishop Gerhard II.

Thanks to the intercession of Bishop Bernhard, who was a close friend of the pfalsgrave, that nobleman made a satisfactory arrangement with the new archbishop regarding Stade. He gave up to the Church all claim to the ownership of Stade or the lordship of Bremen on condition that he was confirmed for his life as ruling Count of Stade.

Gerhard II. had inherited his father's fighting instincts, and he himself led his army against the Danes, from whom he wrested the county of Dietmarsch, and at the same time assisted in restoring Holstein to the young Count Adolf IV., from whose father, Adolf III., it had been taken a dozen years before. In this way he brought the diocese into the shape in

which it continued to exist for centuries. He also succeeded in putting an end to the rival claims of Hamburg to be head of the see—claims which various popes and emperors had recognized by addressing documents to the Archbishop of Hamburg. In 1223, the pope, at Gerhard's request, and in order to stop the constant bickering and the struggle for precedence between the chapters of Hamburg and Bremen, officially decreed that the archbishopric of Hamburg had ceased to exist, being merged in what was now officially known as the Archbishopric of Bremen.

The new prelate found his land wasted by eighty years of internal strife and foreign warfare. The city of Bremen, herself, was flourishing and full of life and enterprise, but Stedingen was the only other prosperous part of the diocese, as its free people had been the only ones able to defend their homes and cultivate their lands.

The trade of Bremen had prospered in spite of wars and changes, and the citizens had wrung many additional privileges from the necessities of their would-be rulers. The Stedingers brought cheeses, wool and hides to the city to be shipped to distant customers. The brewers exported their beer. The trade with England continued to grow, and Bremen was getting some share of the rapidly increasing Baltic trade, as also of that with Norway, which had also assumed importance. Many old trade routes connected the port with the interior. Brunswick did not send all of her trade to Lübeck or Hamburg, nor did Westphalia deal only with Rhenish or Flemish ports. Bremen competed successfully for a considerable portion of the inland commerce, and it was naturally of the first importance to render these trade routes and the outlet to the sea by the Weser as secure as possible. On land the city policed the roads as well as she could, and was often compelled to send out expeditions to punish robbers or to convoy caravans. As far as the Weser is concerned there exists a treaty between the citizens of Bremen and the Rustringers, a Frisian people inhabiting the banks of the river near the sea and the land around the Jahde, for mutual protection and for guarding the river trade. In this treaty the citizens, represented by the council, appear to have acted quite independently of either governor or archbishop, and to have guaranteed the safety of all Rustringers who might visit Bremen for trade or for any other good reason.

Gerhard II., finding the income from his wasted and impover-

ished lands was much reduced and far from sufficient for his ambitious plans, decided to make these prosperous citizens and those well-to-do peasant proprietors in Stedingen contribute more largely to his finances. His castles near the various land routes were consequently turned into custom-houses, which levied heavy duties or tribute upon all wares going to or from Bremen. Near his stronghold, known as the Wittemborg or White Castle, on the Weser, he drove piles into the bottom of the stream, leaving only a narrow channel across which a heavy chain was stretched, which could be lowered to let vessels pass or raised to bar their way. He did not venture to interfere with ships owned in Bremen, but all other boats bound up or down the river were compelled to pay heavy duties before passing. By these means he hoped to largely increase his income, and he succeeded in arousing the ire of the people of Bremen and of all merchants trading with them.

The citizens determined not to submit to these new burdens, and, aided by their allies, the Rustringers, they built a very large and strong ship in which, aided by the tide, the wind and many oars, they charged against the chain and broke it; after which they pulled up the piles which obstructed the channel. The archbishop, unable to make war upon the citizens at that time, was compelled to make an ignominious treaty with them by which he surrendered the Wittemborg to them, on condition that they should build him another castle, remote from the river, at some future time.

This was in 1221. Four years later the citizens obliged the archbishop to abandon the duty he had been levying on goods which were passing through the city, as it were, in bond.

The pfalsgrave Henry, who in 1219 had agreed that the county of Stade should revert, at his death, to the archbishop, now announced that he had changed his mind and made his nephew, Otto, Duke of Lüneburg, heir to all of his possessions, including Stade. Of course the archbishop resented this, and a new feud began.

The pfalsgrave determined to build a fort at Langwedel, not far from the cathedral city of Verden; but the archbishop, hearing of the plan, determined to anticipate him. The citizens, to whom he appealed, agreed to assist in building this as the promised substitute for the Wittemborg, which they had taken from him. However, as they knew the matter was pressing, they wrung from his Grace a pledge that never, at any time, should travellers to or from Bremen, by way of Langwedel,

be interfered with there or charged any toll. All future archbishops were to be bound by the same pledge, and, should they not keep it, the citizens were to be thereby absolved from all allegiance to the archbishop.

Of the great war with Denmark with its changes of fortune I must speak elsewhere, as it bore more directly upon the history of Hamburg and Lübeck; but Gerhard II. took a very prominent part in it, winning back the county of Dietmarsch, and inflicting a stunning defeat upon his arch enemy, Otto of Lüneburg.

Having rounded off his see by recapturing Stade and Dietmarsch, Gerhard turned his attention once more to internal affairs. He thought it was abominable that a people like the Stedingers should occupy a large territory and prosper in every way, yet pay less tithes and taxes than other peasants who were not nearly so well off. It never occurred to him to think of raising the others to the Stedingen standard. It also seemed to him a crying shame that these sturdy fighters should owe no feudal allegiance to the Church. In his eyes it was a crime for the peasants to claim their rights, though they had been purchased from his own predecessors and paid for.

The Frisian neighbours of the Stedingers were almost equally obnoxious to their would-be lords, so that the counts of Oldenburg and Ravensburg and the bishops of Münster and Utrecht were all incensed by some of their free Frisian neighbours who refused to be made slaves like so many German peasants.

The bishop of Utrecht, a brother of Archbishop Gerhard, had, in his haste to punish his own obstreperous neighbours for being independent, marched at the head of an army meant to subjugate them. They had, however, proved stronger than was expected, and defeated the bishop's army and killed the bishop. The peasants had no quarrel with the Church nor with the bishop as Churchman. As a would-be tyrant, leading an army with the avowed purpose of enslaving them, they had fought and defeated him, yet the pope treated them, in consequence, as heretics, and ordered a minor crusade to be preached against them.

Gerhard's bitterness against the Stedingers was increased by his brother's fate, although the only connection between the Stedingers and the Utrecht peasants was the fact that both were defending their chartered rights. Nevertheless, Gerhard determined to punish the peasants in his own neighbourhood,

and before doing so he wanted to make any allies he could. By some means he made a treaty with the Rustringers, the Frisian neighbours of the Stedingers on the north-west, and he bought the neutrality of the city of Bremen by granting further privileges—no doubt regarding them merely as temporary bribes, to be withdrawn when a favourable moment came. One of the grants made at that time seems singular to us, but it had long been desired by the people and refused by the archbishop. It was the right to divide the city into several parishes. Up to that time the whole city formed a single parish, and the Church of Our Lady, near the cathedral, was the only parish church. In 1228 Gerhard yielded to the popular desire and divided the one parish into three, viz. Our Lady, St. Martin and St. Ansgar.

In the autumn of 1229 Gerhard sent an army led by his brother into Stedingen. Hermann zur Lippe, the brother, was a knight of renown, and it was believed that the sight of this army led by this distinguished soldier would frighten the peasants so that they would submit at once. The Stedingers had, however, been trained to fight in the wars of the rival archbishops, and were not the people to be so easily enslaved. They gathered together, and on Christmas Eve they met the invaders, defeated them utterly, and killed their leader.

The archbishop was more furious than ever. He had lost two brothers, killed by mere peasants, and he had been defeated. He was a bitter, implacable enemy and one who was hard to beat. His own resources were seriously damaged, but in a case like this he could call upon his friends. He summoned the synod of the whole province to meet in March 1230, and when it met he read a paper enumerating many alleged crimes of the Stedingers, telling of their customs and beliefs, and denouncing them as heretics. Every member of the synod signed the paper.

There was no charge more easily made against an enemy at that time, and none more terrible or more difficult to disprove. Dregs of the practices and superstitions of heathendom still lingered among all the peoples of Europe. In Italy these were, if possible, amalgamated with the creeds or rituals of the Church. In northern lands they were usually ignored. But when some fanatic or bloodthirsty heretic-hunter appeared he had no difficulty in finding victims. The practices and beliefs of the Stedingers were perhaps identical with, probably no worse than, those of their accusers.

There are habits, traditions, superstitions even now prevailing in parts of Oldenburg and the marshlands which are of remote, and not always of Christian, origin. Many of these still existing superstitions were included in the bill of indictment drawn up by the archbishop.¹

The synod of Bremen did not act ignorantly in this matter. It was composed of members from all parts of the province, who knew the Stedingers and their history better even than did the archbishop himself; knew that they had been highly favoured by at least two of Gerhard's predecessors; knew that they had been regarded by the Church as orthodox enough to fight and win its battles when it had sore need of them; and knew that no taint of heresy had been suggested until the archbishop's greedy and illegal and immoral plans to rob them of their wealth and their freedom had been defeated. But the fact was that all ideas of liberty were heretical, and the bishops of nearly every diocese containing inhabitants with free Frisian blood in their veins were finding out that they were heretics and were bringing the thunders of the Church to bear against them. The war at this time declared against the liberty-loving people of the Netherlands by their rulers, clerical and lay, lasted, with intervals, for four hundred years. But in Germany it was different.

There was plenty of ground for charging the Stedingers with actions hostile to the Church. The archbishop's tax-gatherers were usually priests, and they had often been maltreated when demanding and trying to take more than their due. Then, too, since the archbishop had begun war by sending an army into their country, the Stedingers had attacked and destroyed a fortified Cistercian abbey at Hude, which, if in the hands of an enemy, would have been a menace to them.

This was more than sufficient for Gerhard's purpose, and he solemnly excommunicated the whole people.

Terrible, however, as was excommunication to most people, it mattered little to the Stedingers. Men were not likely to droop and die under a ban who for years had fought for an excommunicated emperor or had been led to victory by an excommunicated archbishop. Several of their allies among the smaller Guelf nobles of the neighbourhood fell away, but there was scarcely any other apparent result of the archbishop's action.

¹ See L. Strackerjans, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogthum Oldenburg*.

The people began to prepare for war. North Stedingen seemed to be too remote to be in danger. The lands on the right bank of the Weser were too open to attack to be easily held, so they concentrated their efforts for defence upon the lands lying along the left bank of the river, which were almost completely surrounded by streams which made a natural barrier, or by still undrained morasses which were quite impassable. At one narrow point, only, was this country unprotected, and there they now dug a broad deep ditch, which at once filled with water, and behind it they threw up a high wall of earth, leaving only two narrow gateways, protected by drawbridges and substantial stone towers.

Behind these defences they felt safe, for the time, and they had no doubt that their Frisian neighbours would recognize that the cause of the Stedingers was equally theirs and that they would come to their assistance.

They also believed that the citizens of Bremen were their friends, and would interfere to check the archbishop's rapacity.

Meantime his Grace raised money by selling land and privileges to the Cistercians, and with this money he hired troops, and enlisted the services of the popular and influential preaching monks of St. Dominic, who had recently settled in Bremen, and among whom was a terrible visitor, the notorious heretic-hunter, John of Vicenza, who, as a personal friend and adviser of the pope, was especially welcome to Gerhard.

To the pope—Gregory IX.—the archbishop sent messengers, as he also did to the emperor, in order to gain their consent to his chastisement of these defiant peasants.

In July 1231 the pope issued a bull of excommunication against the heretical peasants, but none of the great nobles of the neighbourhood could be induced to take up the quarrel, which they regarded as Gerhard's personal affair.

In 1232 a bitterly severe law against heresy was issued at Ravenna. At the congress there, Gerhard was represented by his nephew, Count Adolf of Holstein, who induced the pious emperor to issue an edict against the Stedingers in which the citizens of Bremen were ordered to regard the Stedingers as outlaws and to assist the archbishop, in every possible way, to punish them.

In October 1232 the pope issued another bull, authorizing a crusade to be preached against "those vile heretics, the people of Stedingen," and naming several north-German bishops who were to assist in carrying out the command.

The result was an active clerical campaign throughout northern Germany, and a goodly number of knights and men-at-arms took the Cross and assembled at Bremen.

Many military abbots and martial bishops, with a number of Teutonic knights were there, and young counts of Hoya and Oldenburg joined the crusade. However, there was no general of experience or military knowledge, so that, when they gaily marched against the foe they were defeated, and the peasants, assuming the offensive, destroyed several castles which had recently been built near their frontiers, overran the lands of Oldenburg and nearly surprised and captured the town of Oldenburg and its castle. They held the whole Weser valley north of Bremen, and that city was in dread of an attack.

Duke Otto of Lüneburg, out of hatred for the archbishop, no doubt, openly took up the cause of the peasants and protected that part of Stedingen which lay near his own dominions. He even attacked Stade in order to make a diversion in their behalf.

The news from the north did not please the pope. The people whom he had denounced as heretics had been successful, yet the great north-German nobles were taking no part against them, nay, were even aiding them! He issued another bull, enlarging the district throughout which the crusade should be preached, and calling especially upon the bishops of Lübeck, Ratzeburg, Minden, Paderborn, Hildesheim, Verden, Muenster and Osnabrueck to assist the Church at Bremen against "those heretics, the Stedingers, who, like wild beasts, rend and destroy the believing people of Bremen." Those bishops were exhorted to promise forgiveness of sins to all of the faithful who would assist in fighting against those heretics, so that, with God's help, they might speedily be converted, or cast down into the gulf of the damned.

This was stronger language than that of the former bull, but it was not yet a bull of the first rank. It was, however, accompanied by personal papal letters to several prominent noblemen, and by one to the people of Bremen, who hitherto had abstained, even as the Stedingers had hoped, from assisting the archbishop in any way.

That prelate was now wrought up to such a pitch of rage that he was willing to go any length to attain his object. He succeeded in buying the support of the citizens by withdrawing certain taxes which were very profitable to him but obnoxious to the citizens; by granting the city the coveted right of

punishing offenders who had injured citizens in other parts of the diocese; by agreeing that, in the future, no castle or fortress of any kind should ever be built between Hoya and the North Sea without the consent of the city; and by agreeing that a third part of the lands of the heretics and a third part of the taxes to be raised from their lands in the future were to be the property of the city. The document containing all these concessions was signed by the archbishop, the Counts Henry and Burchard of Oldenburg, the Counts Otto and Christian of Gerbert, and the lords of Stotel, as well as by ninety of the gentlemen accompanying those princes. The twelve senators of Bremen, upon receiving the parchment for the city, insisted, as an additional precaution, on the presence of the dean and chapter, and upon their solemn oath that, in case of a breach of the treaty, their archdeacon should excommunicate the breaker, whether he should be lord or priest. The signatures were witnessed by all the monks of St. Dominic and all the Teutonic knights who were then in Bremen.

For these privileges and concessions, so solemnly granted, the city promised nothing in writing. Both parties were evidently ashamed to see their infamous bargain in black and white; but it was tacitly understood that the price to be paid was that the city should abandon her allies and take an active part in their extermination.

The result of this arrangement and of the busy preaching of the crusade was that an army was collected which marched into the unprotected country lying east of the river, whilst the ships of Bremen held the river and prevented the western Stedingers from crossing to the aid of their eastern brethren.

The invasion began June 26, 1233. There was no organized resistance, and the army of the Cross marched with sword and torch through fields and villages unopposed, but plundering, burning and murdering.

Men, women and children; old and young; sick and well were alike welcome victims. The villages of the outlawed heretics were all burned, and more than four hundred of the heretics themselves, who escaped the sword, were flung into the flames to die, victims of the barbarity of an age and of the hatred of an angry man.

Owing to the determined attitude of the pope, Otto of Lüneburg had no longer dared to protect his neighbours, and this had been the result. But the Stedingers on the western side of the Weser were not encouraged to yield by the horrible

fate of their kinsmen, or by the desertion of their friends. Their enemies increased daily; the river was controlled by Bremen ships; the Frisians, their northern neighbours, made no sign; yet these steadfast peasants calmly awaited their fate.

In June 1233, about the time of the successful crusade, but before the pope could have heard of its success, he issued still another bull against the Stedingers, in which, for the first time, he placed them on a level with the Moslems, and promised to all who took part in a new crusade precisely the same rewards in the next world as if they had taken part in an attempt to wrest the Holy Land from the infidels.

With these additional inducements a third crusade was preached. The promises of the preachers and their tales of the sanguinary deeds and valuable booty of the second crusade, excited great enthusiasm, and a campaign against the west Stedingers, behind their entrenchments, was determined upon. Count Burchard of Oldenburg led the army on this occasion; but he was slain, his army was routed, and two hundred of the crusading knights with very many foot soldiers lost their lives.

Somewhat later in the year an expedition was sent out from Bremen in ships to break down the dykes and drown or starve the heretics. Those watchful people, however, were on their guard, and the expedition was a complete failure.

So, for a little longer, that band of peasants stood at bay in defence of their liberty, successfully defying the united powers of Church and State, without aid from abroad and in the face of unbounded slander, falsehood and calumny.

The winter that followed was a peaceful one in Stedingen, but the archbishop was busily working against them elsewhere. The terrors of the Church were brought to bear upon their only powerful friend, the Guelf duke, who was compelled to take up the Cross to avoid being himself denounced as a heretic. He refused, however, to take an active part in the crusade.

The Dominicans continued diligently to preach the crusade throughout the whole of northern Europe, and they were now assisted by the Franciscans, Cistercians, Benedictines and Premonstrantines, who told the most fearful tales of the evil deeds, witchcrafts and abominations of the heretical inhabitants of a land the name and whereabouts of which were generally unknown.

One result of all this was that in the spring of 1234 crusaders came flocking to Bremen from Flanders, France, Brabant,

Holland and Westphalia. Liege and Cologne were equally excited. Some bold monks had even ventured to preach in Frisia, but they were glad to escape with their lives. In England they were more successful, not a few Englishmen, especially in St. Albans and Tewkesbury, having taken the Cross.

In March 1234 the pope issued a fresh bull, addressed to his legate in northern Germany, the Bishop of Modena, urging him to bring the matter to a close, either through mediation or by placing further information in the hands of the Holy Father. This was the first intimation of any desire to hear what the peasants had to say for themselves, and naturally alarmed the archbishop and made him hasten his preparations.

In April the crusaders began to assemble in Bremen with their leaders. Among them were Henry, Duke of Brabant, the Counts of Oldenburg, Ravensburg, Florence of Holland, Otto of Gelderland, Adolf of Berg, Wilhelm of Juelich, and Dietrich of Cleve. The names of those leaders who came from England were Baldwin of Bethune, Bertram Grossas and Wilhelmus Anglicus, and there were many also from various parts of Germany, all with more or less following. Bremen was thronged with the knights, whose shields adorned nearly every house in the place where they could be lodged, and their followers crowded the streets of the little city.

On the morning of May 27, 1234, the crusaders marched out against the heretics along the banks of the Weser, accompanied by the fleets of Bremen, Brabant and Holland, which, when the river Ochtum was reached, were formed into bridges over which the army passed into the enemy's country.

Behind the troops followed a throng of priests and Church dignitaries in brilliant vestments, bearing aloft their gaudy, flaunting banners and gilded crucifixes, swinging censers which filled the air with sacrificial smoke, and loudly chanting that famous hymn: "*Media vitæ in morti sumus*," with which, centuries before, the pious monks of St. Gall had inspired themselves with courage to meet, fight and repulse the terrible invading Hunnish hordes.

On the Lechter island the peasant army was drawn up in front of the advancing crusaders and ready to give them battle. It was a well-organized band of five or six thousand earnest, desperate men, clad in their ordinary garb, defended only by small leathern shields and armed chiefly with spears or short swords. They knew that the result of the battle must

be death or victory, and that their homes, their families and their freedom were at stake. If more than these were needed they had the brave words of their well-trying leaders, Bolk von Bardenfleth, Tammo von Huntorf and Dietmar tom Dieke, men whose valorous deeds and wise leadership in other times and other lands must have inspired poets and historians to make their names immortal.

Opposed to them were steel-clad knights and men-at-arms, well-trained archers and skilled swordsmen; some of the most experienced of the soldiers and the cream of the chivalry of northern Europe, estimated to have numbered more than forty thousand and led by the Duke of Brabant, a general of experience and ability.

The crusaders were trebly inspired, by the chanting priests clustered on the dykes behind them, by all the German bishops known to be in their cathedrals praying for their success, and by the fulminations and the promises of the pope from his throne in Italy.

If one side fought for all that made this world sweet, the other side was promised eternal bliss in the world to come.

The Count of Holland began the battle, but his troops recoiled from the solid mass of Stedingers as the sea recoils from a rock; but, like the sea, the crusading army returned to the attack again and again, always beaten back but always returning with fresh force—cheered to renewed efforts by the shouts of the excited priests behind them.

The fighting was magnificent and the slaughter was tremendous.

Sometimes, in accounts of Italian battles in the Middle Ages, we are surprised at the smallness of the numbers slain, and are led to doubt the earnestness of the combatants; but in this battle of Altenesch there was no room for doubt of that kind, for the earnestness was very terrible. Count Hermann of Oldenburg was the first of the leaders to fall, but many another knight and soldier died on that fatal field, for, as some of the crusaders themselves have placed on record, the peasants fought like mad dogs.

Attack after attack was repulsed, until the Stedingers no longer had strength to wield their arms, and then Count Dietrich of Cleves, with a reserve of fresh troops, succeeded in flanking the weary peasants, and, charging them from the rear, broke their order of battle and won the day. The brave peasants fought, indeed, to the bitter end, but there was no

longer any hope of success, nor, indeed, was it any longer a battle—it had become a massacre. Their leaders fell, yet the peasants fought on until, trampled under the feet of horses, hewn down by swords and battle-axes, pierced by arrows and spears, surrounded and beaten, they were annihilated, literally exterminated.

Many women had taken part in the fight, among the Stedingers, for every one who could fight was needed, and they



Al dus namen de Ite Singeeren ende

BATTLE OF ALTENESCH, 1234

died with the others on the field. Only a mere handful at length sought safety in flight, but the surrounding waters were no more merciful than the surrounding men, and all were drowned.

Every arms-bearing person in all the land had gone up to meet the enemy on the field of Altenesch. None was left to resist the triumphant armies of the Church. Such as were too old or too feeble or too young to fight tried to reach the Frisian lands to the north, but few if any succeeded in doing so, for the soldiers of the Cross, full of religious zeal, or the frenzy for killing, rushed over the land murdering, burning and

destroying what had, by the fortunes of war, become the property of the archbishop. The heretics had been exterminated, and Gerhard II. was at last victorious.

The hot-bed of liberty was dug up and rooted out; but the graveyard at Warfleth was crowded with dead knights and gentlemen, and the great pits dug on the field of Altenesch were filled with commoner corpses, of both armies, too numerous and too thoroughly intermingled to allow of their being separated before burial. So the pope, in another edict, ordered the whole battlefield to be consecrated and a chapel dedicated to St. Gall, of Ireland, to be built there.

The archbishop expressed his joy by instituting a festival of thanks, and, for centuries thereafter, every year on the eve of Ascension Day, a service was held in the churches of Bremen, and clergy and laity marched through the streets with banners and incense, singing hymns of thanksgiving for the destruction of the heretics and to the honour and glory of the blessed Mother of God. Sermons declared each year the eternal perdition of the Stedingers, and the sanctity of the crusaders who lost their lives in the effort to exterminate them, whilst twenty days' indulgence were granted to all who gave alms on the anniversary of the battle of Altenesch.

But times have changed. The "good old times" have gone, the archbishops are gone, and the city of Bremen no longer rings with the pious curses of Gerhard II., whose name is no longer honoured. The chapel of St. Gall on the ancient battlefield is now a Protestant parish church, and in 1834, on the six-hundredth anniversary of the battle, an iron obelisk, paid for by a few private persons, was erected near the spot where the last stand took place. It was publicly unveiled by the then reigning Grand Duke of Oldenburg, so many of whose ancestors had fallen victims to the Stedinger arms. The inscriptions on the four sides are as follows—

"To the memory of the Stedingers who fell on this battlefield fighting for freedom and faith."

"On the 27th of May, 1234, the brave people succumbed to their mighty foes."

"Bolko von Bardenflet, Tammo von Huntorf, Dietmar tom Dieke fell, as leaders, with their brethren."

"Consecrated by posterity on the anniversary of the battle, 1834."

Altenesch is about twelve English miles' walk, along the tops of the dykes, from Bremen. It is nearly opposite the pretty

town of Vegesack. It is in the midst of a flat land which some might call uninteresting; but it is not necessary to have Alps to produce a Tell.

Much of the success of the crusade had been due to the new order of monks, founded by St. Domenic for the express purpose of putting down the Albigenses and other heretics, and that of St. Francis, known as the Grey Friars. They were rival orders, both recently founded and often bitterly opposed to each other; but, especially when working together with some particular object in view, they exerted at this time an enormous influence.

The Dominicans grew rapidly in numbers in Germany, where, under the lead of Conrad of Marburg, they were so zealous in hunting out heresy that the princes of the empire were forced to interfere to restrain the "order of the blood-hounds," as they were called, lest none but the Dominicans themselves should be left as orthodox. They first established themselves in Bremen in 1225, and soon had a stately monastery there.

The Teutonic knights, who also took part in this crusade, established a commandery in Bremen, 1230, and not long afterwards built themselves a fortified home there.

Gerhard II., who brought about this crusade, is one of the most sinister figures in the history of Bremen. He was willing to do or to promise anything to attain his ends, and equally willing to break his promises as soon as it was more convenient to do so than to keep them. To gratify his private thirst for vengeance he had destroyed the bravest and noblest of his people, who had assisted him in his wars and whom he was bound by special charter as well as by common humanity to protect. In his eyes a treaty was only binding until he was strong enough to break it. Of heresy there was never any question until the peasants had defeated the archbishop's efforts to rob them of their property and freedom by other means, and then doubtless to his pious mind there came the words of the prophet Samuel: "Rebellion is as a sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry."

He pledged his apostolic word to protect the citizens of his capital and grant them privileges, and, as soon as he felt strong enough to do so, he violated his many solemn oaths without pretext or excuse. Many of the charges of heresy made by him against the Stedingers to both pope and emperor were pure lies, and he must have known them to be so. Even in those days when cruel, unjust, perjured rulers were not exceptional,

Gerhard II. was regarded as unusually wicked, and the pious citizens of Bremen believed that the bodily and mental diseases with which he was afflicted during the last years of his life were special punishments sent to him from on high because of his crimes.

CHAPTER VIII

GROWTH OF CIVIC POWER

IN spite of his agreement to the contrary, Gerhard began at once to build castles in the captured country, and he refused to give the city the promised third. This caused a quarrel, which was settled by the good offices of the dean and chapter; but the strife began again shortly after, when the archbishop tried to cancel some of the city's ancient privileges.

A new power had arisen in the city, and that was the municipal council or senate. This body was no longer chosen yearly from the people by the people; but it was now self-elective and continuous, a burgher aristocracy, able to assert itself even against powerful nobles. It was a body jealous of the city's rights, and, when backed by the merchants and the guilds, it was at first too strong for the archbishop, who was compelled to flee from the city and take refuge in his castle at Lesum. In the end, however, he triumphed, humbling the city, and especially the senate, which he insisted must return to the custom of annual elections by the citizens of candidates approved by the archbishop.

Nevertheless, the city was in a vastly better position now to any that it had previously known. There was a field for the energy of the citizens which had never before been open to them; and they were very active during the later years of Gerhard II., despite his constant bitter antagonism.

In 1252 they made a treaty with William, who was King of Germany and Count of Holland. In 1254 they signed a similar treaty with Oldenburg, and in 1255 with Margaret, Countess of Flanders, and with Frisians of Emden. It is said that these latter inserted a clause to this effect: "As we are mere men and not angels, the excesses of an individual are not to vitiate this treaty or compromise the whole people." These treaties, which referred to the protection of commerce and of

the merchants of the different countries, were not referred to the *archbishop*.

About that time there was practically no government in Germany. Frederick II., one of the most brilliant Germans who ever lived, loved Italy, and cared but little for his fatherland in comparison. He devoted his great talents almost wholly to his Italian affairs and art and learning, when he was not warring with Pope Gregory IX., who resented his Italian aspirations and ambitions. The result of that terrible conflict between pope and emperor and its effects in Italy need only be referred to here. The pope set up a rival king in Germany in the person of Count William of Holland. What that prince might have achieved can never be known, as before he had any chance he undertook an expedition against his Frisian neighbours, his horse sank in a morass, and while the unlucky king was struggling with him some Frisians came up and cut off the head which wore the crown.

Chaos reigned in Germany. Life and property had never been secure there, but they were less so now. The Rhenish towns formed a union for mutual protection, which was joined by a few princes—lay and clerical. Soon after Bremen and some of the towns of Westphalia were admitted to the league, whose object was entirely one of peace and self-protection. Not long afterwards Hamburg, Lübeck and Stade became members.

This union soon gave the German cities greatly increased importance, and their united opinion, when brought to bear, had much weight in imperial councils. The electors, whose votes decided who should be emperor when a vacancy occurred, were very high and mighty personages; but the cities plainly informed them that if, as had more than once happened heretofore, more than one person was chosen emperor at the same time, they should one and all refuse to recognize either candidate and should close their gates against them. Should the electors, however, agree upon any one prince to be emperor, the cities would joyfully and loyally accept him.

When at last Gerhard II. died, in July 1258, the chapter was divided and chose two archbishops—Hildebold, Archdeacon of Rustringen, and the Dean of Bremen, who was another Gerhard. Civil war began, but was of short duration, as Dean Gerhard died and Hildebold was recognized as archbishop by all. In September 1259 he solemnly confirmed all the rights and previous charters of the city, and within a twelvemonth

was, contrary to his sworn agreement, building a castle on the banks of the Weser in Stedingen.

On this occasion Bremen and Rustringen joined forces and marched against the archbishop, whose new castle of Warfleth they completely destroyed. He was obliged to make peace and once more to swear to recognize all the city's privileges, once more to pledge himself and his successors not to build any stronghold between the city and the sea.

In every way Bremen laboured to make commerce more secure. A treaty was signed with the Frisians who lived east of the Weser near the North Sea—known as the Wurstfriesen—the object of which was to keep the river open and free to all. With Hamburg an agreement was come to regarding debtors who might flee from one town to the other; and with Hameln a treaty encouraging mutual commerce was signed. The Count of Hoya agreed to protect Bremen merchants passing through his lands.

In 1266 the trade of Bremen with London was practically ruined, because a citizen of Bremen, who was employed as assistant in the house of a London merchant, refused to pay a tax which was levied for the purpose of paying the heavy fines imposed by the king on participators in a riot. Hermann von Bremen declined to pay and left the country, but the Londoners refused to deal with Bremen, and it was not until 1279, in the time of Edward I., that trade was re-established through the intervention of Duke Albert of Brunswick, who thus paid a debt which he owed to one of the senators of Bremen.

It was during Hildebold's reign that a war against Norwegian pirates (and eventually against Norway) took place; but to that we shall return. This archbishop died October 11, 1273, and was peaceably succeeded by his cousin, Giselbert von Brunkhorst, a grandson of Count Moritz I. of Oldenburg. As soon as he was elected he went to Lyons and took part in the council which was held there by Gregory X., and also in a congress of German princes; and on his way back he received the official archiepiscopal sceptre from the new emperor, Rudolf von Hapsburg.

Giselbert was so popular in his diocese, and his actions were so marked by justice and benevolence, that the nobles of the district jeeringly called him "the peasant bishop." Yet even he was wrought up to such a pitch of anger by the actions of the mob on one occasion that he shook the dust of Bremen

from his feet and left the city. One of his household quarrelled with a goldsmith in the town, and, after wounding him severely, took refuge in the palace, just as Giselbert returned there from saying Mass. He tried to protect his man from the angry mob which had pursued him, and to hold him for trial; but the throng, made more furious by his interference, broke into the palace and not only captured and lynched their victim, but also plundered and set fire to the house. The archbishop, whose treasures had been destroyed and his authority defied, retired to Lesum. When at last, after repeated petitions, he returned, the men and women of the city marched barefoot to meet him, with banners and streamers and crosses, and, falling on their knees before him, begged his pardon.

Doubtless they also paid a heavy fine to compensate him, if not for the excitement from which he had suffered and the insult which had been offered, at least for the money-value of his loss. We learn that in 1293 Giselbert paid 650 marks for a house in Bremen, which he remodelled into a suitable palace; and there he lived during the greater part of his paternal reign of thirty-three years.

Though the kindest, most merciful and most Christian (from our modern point of view) of all the rulers of Bremen, he is said to have taken a keener interest in the worldly and temporal affairs of his diocese than in his episcopal work. In fact, he was a good business man as well as a good Christian. He carefully managed the diocesan property and looked after the physical welfare of his clergy. He built at least three castles to protect Church property. He was also highly spoken of as a warrior. When his relatives, the Counts of Oldenburg, conspired with the Count of Delmenhorst and the Duke of Lüneburg to rob him of the Stedingen lands, he marched at the head of his army and drove them, empty-handed, out of the land.

During the whole of his reign he showed interest in the lives and work of his people and sympathy with their aspirations, although he was of a princely family and lived in a century when throughout Europe, and perhaps more in Germany than elsewhere, the princes and nobles regarded the common people as beasts, or at least as hardly human. Indeed, except within the walls of a few cities, it were better for a man never to have been born unless he was also noble, or what the nobles called "born"—that is, with a coat-of-arms and a line of noble ancestors.

CHAPTER IX

BREMEN'S SOCIAL CONDITION

GISELBERT regarded the people of his diocese as fellow-men entrusted to his fatherly care. He permitted the senate of the city to sit in judgment in many important cases, independent of his officials. He respected their rights, and tried to make his people respect them; and he settled them into the groove in which (with a certain amount of jolting) they afterwards ran for centuries. Every vacancy in the senate was filled by the choice of the senators themselves. This soon grew to mean that only members of certain leading families were chosen, and a city aristocracy was thus founded by the most democratic of all the archbishops. If no available member of a senatorial family were to be had, a new senator was chosen from the members of the guild of merchants, and this gave a chance for promotion to the highest class of citizen.

The members of this new aristocracy before long regarded themselves as of a superior caste, and looked upon intermarriages with any of their fellow-citizens not of their own order as *mésalliances*. The barons and *freiherren* and counts of the vicinity, however, looked down upon them, calling them *kraemer*, or shopkeepers, and would rarely associate with them. One result of this was that in such cities as Bremen the patricians, as the senatorial caste was called, intermarried for centuries, and were all related to each other as intricately as are the members of the European royal caste to-day.

In the early days of this new state of things some of the younger members—sons or grandsons of senators—took themselves and their grandeur very seriously, treating the inferior citizens with insolence and even with violence; and the "people" found it difficult to get redress. There was naturally much grumbling and bad feeling; and the archbishop had frequently to intervene as mediator. However, the citizens demanded not only redress but also security for the future and recognized legal protection. One result was a revision and codification of the old laws, which were based on the "*Sachsenspiegel*," to which from time to time new ones had been added.

Tradition avers that Archbishop Giselbert handed over to the citizens all the temporal affairs of the city, reserving only

the control of ecclesiastical matters. The writer of the article on Bremen in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, says: "In 1289 they—the citizens—formed a treaty with Giselbert, their archbishop, by which he agreed to confine himself to the spiritual affairs of his diocese, leaving secular concerns to the civic authorities."

Not only would such an arrangement be contrary to the rule of the Church and to the spirit of the times, but there is no known evidence to confirm the tradition. On the contrary, Dr. von Bippen proves from internal evidence in the contemporary documents still existing that in the revision of the laws every care was taken to guard the temporal rights of the Church, and reference is made in them to the Court presided over by the governor representing the archbishop; such as: "This law must not in any way interfere with the governor's court or jurisdiction."

In 1303 an official transcript of the laws was made. Numerous scribes were employed, and the original codex was written in fine bold characters and in a form that was already, probably, rather formal and antiquated. This body of laws has been called by Dr. von Bippen the palladium of Bremen's freedom, and though Bremen law never came into such general use as did the codes of Lübeck, or Magdeburg, it was adopted by Verden, Delmenhorst, Harpstedt, Wildeshausen, Oldenburg and other towns in the neighbourhood.

Although the laws were so excellent and had been so carefully revised and preserved, the city began to disregard them. A masterful family connection had grown up which had attained great wealth, and it defied and overrode the laws. The men of this family carried matters with a high hand; forcing themselves and their adherents into the best official positions, they terrorized the senators who were not of their clan, and treated the citizens with contempt. They had practically taken possession of the government of the city, and meant to keep it. The older men governed and the younger men rioted, bullied and allied themselves as far as possible with the neighbouring nobles, sharing in their piracy and highway robberies. The citizens groaned and the honest senators protested in vain, for this faction of the patricians had gained the upper hand and ruled by terror.

As usual, however, these petty tyrants went too far. There was an esteemed elderly gentleman of wealth then living in Bremen named Arndt von Gröplingen. He was of a knightly

family, but was himself a sober citizen who had been a senator for twenty years. He was opposed to the deeds and usurpations of the Frese family, and had made himself obnoxious to them. One day as he passed the market he saw an unusually fine pike, which he bought and gave to his servant to carry home. On their way they were met by Gottschalck Frese, a leader of the ruling party, who admired the great fish and demanded that it should be given to him. Gröplingen refused to part with his fish, and Frese was compelled to go home without it. Unused to being thwarted, he sulked for some time; then, rushing to Gröplingen's house, which was in the Langenstrasse, opposite the weigh-house, he forced open the door and ran upstairs, where he found the old senator ill in bed with a servant waiting upon him. Without a word of warning he stabbed the old man, who afterwards died of his wounds, and killed the servant who tried to defend him.

When the news of this outrage got abroad people assembled in knots to discuss it. After a time several hundred citizens, including some senators, met in the church of St. Nicholas, in the Hutfiltertrasse, and bound themselves by oath to put a stop to such deeds. Then, with one accord, they marched through the streets calling upon all good citizens to join them. This was done by all the well-disposed until the throng was so great and so menacing that, without striking a blow, Frese with his family and chief adherents fled from the city.

The senate was hastily called together, and banished the tyrants and all their adherents for ever.

The city then, knowing that the exiles would seek revenge, prepared for war. She hired troops and made treaties with the Counts of Oldenburg and Bruchhausen, who agreed not to harbour the exiles, and to assist the city's mercenaries.

The exiled patricians, on their part, stirred up most of the knights in the neighbourhood and obtained promises of help from the Duke of Lüneburg. More than one hundred knights with their followers joined the Freses who, late in October 1304, made an effort to surprise and capture the city. They did much damage to life and property in the vicinity, but failed to reach the town itself, and the severe winter which soon followed compelled them to disband.

They came again in the spring; but the city troops marched out, and after completely defeating them, went on and destroyed fourteen castles belonging to allies of the Freses. More than twenty knights were captured and held for ransom,

and the rest fled in all directions. This was in March 1305. The knights were beaten. They gave up and sued for peace. The city insisted that none of the castles should be rebuilt, and that no more strongholds should be erected in the diocese. In addition the knights bound themselves to give no further aid to the exiles, and one knight, named von Aumond, was forced to surrender an hereditary right he had to levy toll on all boats passing Lemwerder on the Weser. Thirty-one knights and sixty-eight esquires signed this treaty, and the Duke of Lüneburg signed a separate document.

Overjoyed at this victory the senate decreed that the first Thursday in Lent should for ever after be celebrated, that a mass should be said on that day in each year, and alms should be given from the city treasury. This was continued until the Reformation.

The names of the banished citizens were inscribed on a stone tablet which was hung in the town hall, and they were never again admitted to citizenship. They made one more effort to return the following September, when with several of their allies they attacked and took the town of Oldenburg, from whence they harried the country and made trade unsafe. The indignant Counts of Oldenburg gathered to their aid the lords of Diepholtz, Bruchhausen, and Delmenhorst, the chapter and the city of Bremen and speedily restored peace. The Freses then disappeared from history, and "never again," says von Bippen, "did a tyranny of this kind arise in Bremen."

The city, warned by this experience, built walls around the suburb of St. Stephen, which had until then been unprotected, and defended what is now the Neustadt by digging a deep moat, fourteen feet wide, around the meadows with towers at intervals where guards were placed. Every citizen living on that side the river was ordered to provide himself with a horse, an iron cap and breastplate and gloves, with a spear sixteen feet long and a shield, and to be ready when summoned to come thus armed prepared to defend the city.

This expulsion of the Freses, though actively taken part in by all classes, resulted in no changes in the constitution of the senate or in the laws.

The emperors and popes were so bitterly engaged in the south that the north of Germany was neglected and left to itself, and no country ever proved less able to govern itself. It was divided into a great number of more or less independent powers. Dukes, princes, counts, archbishops and bishops all

misgoverned, and each controlled as much as he could lay his hands on; but even such control was only nominal, as every knight and baron, every one in the position of a gentleman, tried to misrule part of the land, and those whose patrimony was small or non-existent set out to rob any one they could find who had anything worth having, and who was not able to defend it. Those who were strongest generally got more than the others, and from these are descended many of the older noble families. In fact German nobility owes most of its titles to the fact that their ancestors had strong bodies and no principles. I think that perhaps more titles were given in the empire for mere muscular distinction than in other lands.

Of course, all trade or commerce, where such anarchy tempered by rule of fist prevailed, was difficult; and the towns, finding their very existence threatened, were forced to interfere to protect their citizens from the brutality of titled miscreants. At first each town did what it could singly. Then one or two would combine for some common purpose, and, finding that in such union there was strength, they began to combine in groups which grew in size and importance until the great Hanseatic League came into being, uniting at times nearly all the towns in northern Germany.

These combined towns not only waged war against land robbers and sea pirates, but more than once they declared, and carried to a conclusion, war against powers with which the empire was nominally at peace. They also adopted and enforced a system of laws and commercial customs which were better than any others then existing in northern Europe.

The German merchants had throughout the commercial world a reputation for honour, honesty and probity at the very period when German nobles, both lay and clerical, were, most of them, robbers and perjurers and distinguished for their boorishness throughout Europe. The merchants had discovered that in trade honesty is the best policy, and beginning for sordid reasons, perhaps, had set up a high standard which in time grew to be more or less general.

Within the cities a middle class of merchants had grown into existence. They possessed the bourgeois virtues, and from them the governing body of each town was chosen, thus forming a civic aristocracy.

Against the rule of this aristocracy the lower classes, who were learning their strength even at that early day, began to protest.

We have just seen how on one occasion certain patrician families were expelled from Bremen and their goods were confiscated as punishment for arrogance and violence. Then populace and patricians worked together, but it was soon to be different.

Under a system by which a certain part of the senate was always composed of men of some experience in public work, the interests of the city, both domestic and foreign, were generally discreetly and ably managed. The senate had gradually wrung civic freedom from the reluctant archbishops, but the senate was chosen by a limited number of voters from a small and privileged class, and the tradespeople and artisans objected, demanding representation in the governing body.

Shortly after the final overthrow of the banished Frese party Bremen began a war with her neighbours the Rustringers, living near the mouth of the Weser, and for a long time the commerce of the city was seriously interfered with. This war lasted six years, and in 1312 the city made an inglorious peace, paying one thousand marks silver to their enemies to induce them to permit Bremen ships to come and go peacefully on the river.

CHAPTER X

A MAD ARCHBISHOP

ARCHBISHOP GISELBERT had died in 1306. His immediate successor reigned but a single year. After that there was a contested election. The candidates were the Provost Bernard, who was a Guelf count, Otto von Diepholtz, a canon of Bremen, and Florence, a nephew of Archbishop Giselbert. Bernard and Florence had an equal number of votes in the chapter. The former was the favourite of the citizens, the latter had the support of the nobility of the diocese. All three went to Poitiers, where Pope Clement V. was living. Then, for the first time, the pope claimed the right to nominate the archbishop, and, ignoring all three candidates, put in his own man, one John Grant.

This man was a firebrand who in some way had acquired great influence at the papal court. He had been Archbishop of Lund, in Sweden, where he had made himself so obnoxious

that he had spent several years in prison. Thence he had escaped to Rome. King Eric of Sweden then paid him a large sum to resign the see of Lund. This he did, and settled in Paris. He had been offered the Archbishopric of Riga, but refused it. He accepted Bremen, and was welcomed by the citizens because the diocese was in a state of anarchy. Four prominent nobles—von Aumund, von Borch, von der Hude and von Blumenthal—having taken advantage of the interregnum—ravaged the land, committing every kind of atrocity. The city had joined with Count von Stotel and the Duke of Lauenburg to put down these ruffians, but had failed.

A year later, assisted by the archbishop, the Bishop of Verden and the Duke of Lüneburg, they succeeded in overpowering the enemy and taking von Borch, their leader, prisoner. This made the new archbishop popular, but when, soon after, he tried to impose new taxes, he met with opposition from every part of the diocese. Annoyed at this, he asked for and received from the new pope leave to levy these taxes, and armed with this permission he again attempted to carry out his plan. However, the chapters of all the cathedrals in his province—Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, Ratzeburg and Schwerin—refused to assist him. He then deprived numbers of the clergy of their livings and began to antagonize the citizens in every possible manner. The people were soon all against him, and civil war ensued. He was not brave and he fled from castle to castle, never venturing to stay long in one place.

A combination of leading nobles and several towns was made against him, and he submitted. It was agreed that all matters in dispute should be settled by arbitration. The court, composed of four priests, four knights and four senators, gave every count against the archbishop in his disputes with the city. He then himself appointed the Bishop of Verden and the diocesan treasurer to arbitrate between him and the other parts of his province, and again he had every point decided against him.

He refused to accept these decisions, and rushed furiously from place to place, raving and cursing. At Wildeshausen he was imprisoned for a short time, and at Nordau an angry woman publicly flogged him. At last he fled to Avignon. His people believed him to be mad. The Bremen chapter finally declared solemnly that he was a lunatic, and chose a son of the Duke of Lüneburg to be coadjutor and administrator. The evicted clergy were at once reinstated, and order was restored.

Envoys were sent to Avignon to represent the state of affairs and to procure the retirement of the archbishop. That personage, however, had not lost his influence, and Pope John XXII. declared that he was not mad, and, despite the representatives of Bremen, he appointed an archbishop, a bishop and a canon to act as his legates to reinstate Archbishop John and to call the coadjutor and the chapter to strict account.

The whole province combined and successfully resisted this order. The Duke of Lüneburg and several distinguished ecclesiastics proceeded to Avignon, where they finally succeeded in convincing a committee of cardinals deputed to meet them that, whether John Grant were mad or not, he was irresponsible and wholly unfit to be archbishop. Certain portions of the revenues were conferred upon him, and he remained in Avignon until he died in 1327.

CHAPTER XI

MORITZ OF OLDENBURG

THE pope claimed the right to succeed as sole heir to the estate of a prelate dying at Avignon, and so the Church at large, or the head of it, profited at the expense of the Church at Bremen, which had large claims upon the archbishop's estate for vast damages done to Church property by mismanagement and misappropriation.

Clergy, nobility and citizens were for once united in the wish that Burchard, Archdeacon of Rustringen, should be the new archbishop. He was a learned man who had done much good, and had frequently settled feuds between various antagonistic elements in the neighbourhood.

Here again, however, the pope claimed that because the late archbishop had died at Avignon, he, the pope, had the right to appoint his successor, and for a time there was consternation in Bremen. The pope finally, after receiving a substantial sum in cash from Bremen, yielded, and appointed Burchard, who was the first native of Bremen who ever became archbishop. He belonged to a respected well-to-do patrician family. His father and brother were both senators. He was one of the most successful and well-beloved of all Bremen's rulers. During his time there was much agitation among the

lower classes and friction between different castes, which was, on several occasions, only kept within bounds by the tact and mollifying influence of the archbishop.

Guilds and friendly societies became common about this time, and the senate made an unpopular edict forbidding all guilds and brotherhoods because of their great unnecessary expense. This and other unwise acts worked the people up to the danger point.

Yielding to the popular demand, turbulently expressed, the senate enlarged itself, changing from a self-elected body chosen entirely from patrician families and consisting of thirty-six members (twelve taking active duty each year), to a body of one hundred and fourteen, thirty-eight taking active duty each year, and chosen by the whole body of citizens by what was called a popular vote. The aspirations of the citizens were, however, curtailed by a number of conditions which were difficult to fulfil. For instance, manhood suffrage was demanded, but what was granted was that every voter should be a free man, born in wedlock, at least twenty-four years old. The people demanded that every citizen should be eligible for election to the senate; but the new constitution stipulated that a candidate must possess a certain amount of income as well as at least thirty-two marks (equal to about a thousand pounds sterling present value) of freehold property. Should an artisan be chosen senator he must give up his trade and live in a suitable style, and during his term of active duty he must keep a good horse at the service of the city.

One result of these regulations was that at the next following elections a very small number of tradesmen was chosen. All the old senators were re-elected, and also twenty-eight new senators of patrician families. Most of the others were members of rich commercial families or diocesan officials living in the city.

The new senate was unwieldy, and its working was unsatisfactory. For a number of years the city business was carried on without any settled policy or any energy. The senate was always quarrelling with the neighbouring Frisians. No one was satisfied, and only Archbishop Burchard's great personal influence prevented greater unpleasantness.

On one occasion the archbishop organized a great festival in honour of Saints Cosmos and Damian, whose bones had been lost but had recently been found again buried near the high altar, where they had been laid when brought to Bremen

by the Archbishop Adaldag. This festival was held on Whitsunday and Monday, 1335. There were splendid processions in the streets, a tournament in the Domshof (the public square north of the cathedral) and a ball in the archbishop's palace. With great ceremony the archbishop knighted twelve gentlemen in the market-place (on the west side of the cathedral). There, too, the burgomaster, Heinrich Doneldey, stood in a great tub soliciting subscriptions, and so eloquent were his appeals, or so moving were the splendours of the occasion, that the tub was filled with offerings. Men threw in their purses and women cast in their jewels in such quantities that the burgomaster was enabled to contribute something like one thousand pounds sterling toward the expenses of the festival, besides helping to complete the northern tower of the cathedral and buying a great bell to hang in it.

Burchard died 1344, and was succeeded by Count Otto of Oldenburg, Dean of Bremen, a feeble old man, who was succeeded in the deanery by his nephew Count Moritz of Oldenburg, who was neither feeble nor old, but an able, gifted, domineering personality into whose hands his uncle soon abandoned all his power. He managed the affairs of the province ably until the old man's death, 1348.

Every one expected the nephew to succeed his uncle, and the two chapters of Bremen and Hamburg duly elected him; but when the representatives of the diocese arrived at Avignon to notify the pope of this choice, they found the Bishop of Osnabrück already there. The papal court was at that time notoriously venal; the representatives from Bremen had not come prepared for any opposition, and the bishop had brought a full purse. Against right and precedent Clement VI. ignored the unanimous choice of the two chapters and of the whole province, and appointed Count Gottfried von Arensberg, Bishop of Osnabrück, to the vacant archbishopric.

Moritz, who had ruled during his uncle's lifetime, and who was friendly with all the leading people and acquainted with all the different interests of the province, was also kinsman of all the lay rulers of the neighbourhood. He refused to recognize the pope's nominee, and the result was a long and very bitter civil war.

Moritz had no doubt of his ultimate success. He had the nobles, the clergy and the cities of Bremen and Hamburg on his side. Moreover, he was in possession of all the churches, all the castles and all the revenues. Gottfried, it is true, had

the papal appointment; but papal nominations had more than once been successfully defied.

No doubt the shortest and cheapest way to win would have been to buy the pope instead of hiring soldiers. The price of Clement IV. was high, but in the end the war cost more.

However, Moritz was a brave and, for his time, an honest man, and he did not buy the pope. Gottfried had already bought his appointment from Avignon, and he now proceeded to adopt the same plan with Bremen.

The senate had declared its neutrality; but it was well known that in that large body there was dissension on most subjects, and probably on this one. Then there was a good deal of general dissatisfaction with the senate among the citizens. Foreign affairs had not been well managed, and the city itself had been badly governed. A club of rich men had been allowed to terrorize the citizens, and had committed frequent outrages. At last a well-known man had been murdered. It was easily discovered that the murderer was one Otto Mertens, a member of the Casal Club. He coolly explained that it was all a mistake, as it was quite another man he had meant to kill. He was arrested, and the Casal Club went in a body, with Senator Duckel at its head, to rescue him. A fight took place in the Rathhaus, and amid great excitement the alarm bell was rung and the people came running together. The murderer and the senator escaped; but under popular pressure the senate banished them both, together with six or eight other members of the Casal Club, including two members of the Gröplingen family and a senator Albert Col. The mob wrecked the Casal club-house and went home grumbling.

Into this state of affairs Archbishop Gottfried sent his agents to buy three or four influential men who were to bring the people over to his side. The plan worked well; the men were found. They had no difficulty in working the passive dissatisfaction into active revolt, and ere long a mob swarmed into the Rathhaus when the senate was in session, and demanded that the city should take the part of the lawful archbishop against the usurper Moritz. Stirred up by the "three or four men of influence," the people accused the senate of favouring Moritz because of the feasts and balls he had formerly given them. The mob refused to listen to the warning that taking sides with either claimant meant war and heavy loss. They insisted upon war being declared against Moritz at once, and the majority of the wrangling senate yielded. The stupidity of

the mob and the weakness and instability of the senate had been ably handled by the archbishop, who thus succeeded in having the city declare herself his ally.

Moritz, who was never slow to act, held all the roads in the diocese and made war on all Bremen traders. Gottfried excommunicated Moritz, who, however, held all the castles and all the sources of income; so the only result of the excommunication was that the chapter of Bremen and the pious Rustringers, who hated Moritz because he was a member of the house of Oldenburg, declared for Gottfried. Moritz, aided by all of the great nobles of the neighbourhood and also by the Bishop of Paderborn, ravaged the territories of Bremen and Rustringen.

On the other hand Gottfried built a bridge across the river Lesum near the present railway station of Burg-Lesum, and invaded the diocesan lands, driving Moritz from Hude and pillaging castles and villages.

The Count von der Mark and other nobles now rallied to Moritz, who marched at the head of nine hundred knights and many infantry against the city, attacking it about where the present Church of St. Rembert has been built. Some landwehr and a few citizens hurried out to meet them, but were soon routed. Many were killed or taken. Among the prisoners was the brave, impetuous and unfortunate Heinrich Gröning, who was thus for the third time during his public service taken captive. (It was as bad for the family as having three death duties "in England now.") There is still, I think, a Gröning in the senate of Bremen. There always has been one in the senate. It has been said of the Grönings that they were "already old in the service of the state when the Medici were still barbers."

This skirmish occurred amidst market gardens, and those who escaped owed their safety to the hedges and palings which impeded the horses. All that part of the present city was then given up to vegetable growing; and the aristocratic Kohlhöckerstrasse of to-day in its humble name commemorates those cabbage hucksters of the fourteenth century.

The splendour-loving Moritz camped before the Osterthor and next day held a court with a tournament, and formally dubbed five new knights. After this he burned the suburb of St. Paul and ravaged all the country around, close up to the city walls, but the city made no sign. No troops emerged to give battle, and, not being prepared to invest the place, Moritz

marched away and secured possession of his rival's bridge across the Lesum, which was so important; but still Bremen made no sign.

So Moritz marched back again and found the gates wide open, but none to bid him enter or order him to leave. He sent scouts, who found the streets vacant and the houses closed. At last the truth dawned on them, and they fled back to their friends. The city was already in the hands of a mightier enemy than Moritz. The Black Death had not hesitated at the gates, but had entered in and exacted his tribute—sparing very few. Men, women and children dropped dead without warning, and so great was the number of victims and so hopeless were the survivors that those who could, shut themselves in their houses, not caring whether it were Moritz or Gottfried who came to bury them.

More than seven thousand died in Bremen where the whole population was hardly more than twenty thousand. Two hundred died the day when Moritz's knights rode through the silent streets.

Whether from fear or pity—who can say—Moritz refused to take advantage of the city's sad plight. It is said that, when urged to do so, he said: "I will not do it, for God is fighting against them. He who is well to-day may be dead to-morrow. The same fate that has been theirs may be ours. To attack them now would be shameful. We have done harm enough. We can remember many pleasant days spent with them in song and dance and merriment and great friendship. We are enemies now; but we may again be friends," and he marched away without entering the stricken city.

The people of Bremen were now thoroughly cowed and humble, and they begged the senate to make peace at any price—swearing to obey the orders and follow the counsels of the senate in the future.

Peace was really arranged with many curious conditions. Gottfried was recognized as archbishop, and permitted to occupy the throne and perform his ecclesiastical duties; but Moritz was to keep the strongholds and the estates; gathering in the income and only promising to provide sufficient to keep up a suitable establishment for the archbishop.

It was also agreed that the intruders should retire from the senate, and that that body, so far as number and character was concerned, should revert to the conditions which existed before 1330.

Gottfried rarely visited his see, but he was constant in his complaints of being unfairly treated by Moritz. At the time of the treaty he had retained some properties for himself. Among these was the important castle of Thedinghausen which Moritz greatly coveted, but which Gottfried leased for life to the Count of Hoya, one of Bremen's nearest and most powerful neighbours, thus enlisting him on his side. He was particularly obnoxious to the citizens.

The ravages of the pest, which so depleted the population of the city, were repaired by peasants who flocked in from the surrounding country. A year's residence within Bremen's friendly walls made them free unless their owners laid claim to them before the year was out. As the Count of Hoya was nearest, he suffered most from this drain upon his serfs, so he followed them to Bremen and insisted upon having the runaways returned to him, or upon receiving payment of the full price for their freedom. He took care to make these visits and claims so frequently that no serfs could remain unclaimed for the whole year necessary to entitle them to citizenship. This was not only highly disagreeable to the serfs themselves, but it was resented by the free citizens, who were obliged by law to return the fugitives when demanded. Just as it was in America when the people of the northern States, before the Civil War, resented and often prevented the return of fugitive slaves to their southern masters, although the law was on the side of the masters.

The citizens of Bremen grew restive. For a time the senate succeeded in keeping the peace; but the Count of Hoya, emboldened by success, became more frequent in his demands, and the townspeople became angrier until, in 1356, they once more took matters into their own hands. A turbulent mob invaded the senate chamber demanding that war should at once be declared against the Count of Hoya. They said they knew every footpath in his dominions and every weak spot. With a penny's worth of food in their pockets they could drive the count out of his county. When reminded by some of the more prudent senators of the war which had ended so disastrously only five years before, they replied that the circumstances were different. That this was a matter of righting great and insufferable wrongs. That they would rather lose all they owned than submit any longer to the injustice of Hoya.

The senate had not yet recovered the effects of the plague. Only ten senators had survived that terrible visitation, which

had also nearly exterminated the patrician families from which the senate was recruited. It was a weak, disorganized body in which no strong leader had yet appeared, and it once more weakly yielded to the demands of the mob.

When Count Hoya heard of this he was alarmed, and offered to ride into the city with his brother and submit all questions at issue to the arbitration of two senators or two canons; but the people, knowing that the law was against them, though believing that both right and might were theirs, declined this proposal, and war was declared. The city was joined by Moritz and the cathedral chapter, and their troops invaded and ravaged the county of Hoya.

The count had the archbishop and the Duke of Jülich as allies. When Bremen heard of this latter they called upon his well-known enemy, the Count von der Mark, who came at once at the head of a great band of mercenaries, who were honoured and feasted by the senate and the people for several weeks, during which active preparations were made for another advance into the enemy's country. When all was ready von der Mark suddenly changed his mind, and marched away home again with all his men.

The citizens were bitterly chagrined, and wrote satirical ballads about the count which were sung all over north Germany and in the Netherlands, and so annoyed von der Mark that six years later he raided the diocese and carried away much cattle and other plunder. It is believed that the reason of his sudden withdrawal from Bremen was that he had news that the Duke of Jülich was raiding his Mark lands.

Though so greatly reduced by this wholesale desertion, the Bremen army once more invaded Hoya and marched upon Thedinghausen. The Count of Hoya gathered all his men and set out to meet them. Johann Klencken, an experienced soldier, advised the citizens to retire beyond the Aller, and there choose a favourable spot to await the impending conflict; but flushed with success, and despising their enemy, the citizens refused to listen to advice which they called cowardly, and rushed to battle with Hoya, whose finances were so completely exhausted that he must have been defeated without a fight by a few days' delay.

The armies met near Verden. Almost at the outset Hoya was thrown from his horse and might easily have been killed, but certain members of the army, including some of his former serfs, had set their hearts upon capturing him and leading him

in triumph through the city streets. Such alone seemed to them to be the proper ending to the war. But before he could be secured, aid arrived, and he was rescued. The count and his rescuers began to shout: "The Bremers are running away!" and they kept shouting this so long that a panic ensued—one of those curious, unreasonable, inexplicable panics, and the Bremers, citizens and diocesan knights, really did run away. The enemy followed, killing many and capturing one hundred and fifty of the bravest who refused to run away and were overpowered. The old chronicler says: "If Count Hoya had gone into the market-place of Bremen and taken his pick he could not have got one hundred richer or more important men."

Bremen had fallen upon evil days. Her population was more than decimated; her leading men were dead or captives, and she was defeated by her arrogant and most dangerous neighbour. Yet she had more to undergo before her humiliation was complete.

At this time the members of the Hansa were forbidden to trade with Bruges and Flanders; but a merchant of Bremen named Frederich Monnic had disobeyed and had been found out. Bremen was summoned to appear in Lübeck to explain and be judged. All of her representative men were dead or in the hands of Hoya; her finances were at a very low ebb; she had suffered a crushing defeat, and she was so stunned that she let the summons go unanswered.

Her enemies, however, were at Lübeck. Hamburg was at that time unfriendly, and exaggerated the incident. Bremen was formally expelled from the League.

The trade of the city fell off at once. Such trade as remained was rendered unsafe by enemies on all sides, and the chronicler says that people were compelled by hunger and want of employment to emigrate. Houses were unoccupied and fell to ruin. Grass grew high in the streets, and misery lurked where wealth and luxury and comfort formerly dwelt. It was a trying experience, but the city passed through this valley of humiliation and emerged with honour.

It was determined that the war should go on, no matter what the price might be. A strong fleet was sent up the river to attack Hoya castle. Siege machinery was taken, and the castle was beleaguered. The defenders were almost at the last extremity. Fire had been thrown in, and several houses within the walls were burned; but the garrison, led by the brave count

himself, and assisted by an opportune thunderstorm, extinguished the flames.

Once more defeated, the city resolved to make capital of its misfortunes and to snatch victory from the jaws of disaster. Having failed in their attack on Hoya, and being compelled by the rapidly falling Weser to retire with their boats, they fled amid the jeers and jubilations of the besieged. Then, rapidly descending the river, they surprised and captured the far more important castle of Thedinghausen, whose garrison, believing the enemy to be entirely occupied before Hoya, had neglected to take the ordinary precautions.

The count felt this loss keenly. It had been the price he had received from Archbishop Gottfried for espousing his cause, and he now urged upon the archbishop the necessity of coming to his aid. This Gottfried did with his favourite weapon, bribery. He went to the Duke of Brunswick and offered to resign the archbishopric in favour of Prince Albert, the duke's son, who was a priest, if the duke would come to the succour of Hoya. Moritz heard of the plot, and did his best to circumvent it.

The duke was pleased with the offer, but wanted to make sure that the goods could be delivered. For two years the war dragged on whilst the duke's agents at the papal court were kept at bay by Moritz's representatives there.

Then the duke tried to influence the dean and chapter of Bremen, and succeeded by promises and presents in getting a pledge that they would vote for Prince Albert if the duke could get Moritz's consent. The war was still lingering on, and both parties were exhausted.

When the duke finally received his son's nomination from the pope, he invited Moritz, the dean and chapter and the senate to a court which he held at Walsrode to consider the terms on which they could all agree to an armistice or to a permanent peace.

The city made a great effort to appear creditably at this meeting, and sent three burgomasters and four senators with their secretaries, all in gay garments trimmed with costly furs and gold. These were accompanied by forty steel-clad knights and a number of warlike young citizens. They carried with them great stores of food and of the beer for which Bremen was then famous; and they dispensed this lavishly. The armistice was agreed to on April 30, 1359. Each side had to make concessions and to submit to terms that were unpleasant.

The city agreed to admit none of Hoya's serfs to citizenship in the future. Hoya promised never again to harm the city or the diocese, and never to build or allow to be built any stronghold between Hoya and Bremen, and he abandoned his claim upon Thedinghausen. Moritz and Hoya agreed to be friends for the rest of their lives, and the chapter agreed to submit to the pope's decree and recognize Albert as archbishop.

From the duke's point of view the serious flaw in the agreement was that the city refused to do homage to Albert as overlord until freed from its allegiance to Moritz, who flatly refused to recognize Albert as archbishop.

The settlement of outstanding claims between Hoya and Bremen lasted four years, and it was not until 1363 that peace was signed between the archbishop, the chapter, the city and Count Hoya.

In 1358, a year before the armistice, the senate, urged by the citizens, had sent Berend von Dettenhusen and Heinrich Doneldey, two of the chief senators, to Lübeck to plead for readmission to the Hansa. Crowds followed these ambassadors to the gates when they were leaving Bremen, threatening them with death should they dare to return unsuccessful. They had a very difficult task and, partly owing to Hamburg's hostility, partly to the fact that Bremen had paid no attention when summoned to the previous meeting, they were compelled to submit to very hard terms.

Hamburg's especial grievance at this time was the fact that a native of Bremen, one Johann Hollmann, was a notorious pirate who, it was claimed, robbed Hamburg ships and sold his spoil in Bremen. Bremen's answer was that Hollmann was also the enemy of Bremen, aiding their enemies, the Rustringers, in the war which was then in progress.

This plea was deemed inadequate, but at last Bremen was readmitted to the League; but she was compelled to agree to send, at her own expense, a fighting ship with fifty armed men to the Baltic whenever called upon to do so by the Wendish towns, and also to send a ship with one hundred armed men, at her own risk, to aid in defending the Elbe whenever asked by Hamburg to do so. This was an especially bitter stipulation, as Hamburg had no corresponding obligation to aid in defending the Weser.

Bremen had also to agree to be obedient in the future to all treaties and resolutions of the Hansa. A special clause was one

stipulating that in case, at any future time, any citizen of Bremen should engage or take part in a voyage, or share in any traffic forbidden by the Hansa, he should be imprisoned or executed and his goods confiscated; two-thirds to be given to the League, and one-third to the city that captured him. The humiliation of this was that when similar cases occurred in other cities of the League, the confiscated goods were given to the city to which the culprit belonged.

Bremen had also to agree to share with the League all the trade privileges which she had acquired in England, Norway and Flanders.

Despite these heavy drawbacks Bremen was glad to be back in the Hansa, and hoped when the peace with Hoya was concluded to be once more on the way to prosperity. One great effort was still necessary. Hoya held more than one hundred of the chief citizens awaiting ransom. As they had been taken when fighting for the city it was the duty of the city to pay their ransom. Some of the one hundred and fifty prisoners had died, and some of the richer men had paid their own ransoms, but were now calling upon the senate for repayment.

All were agreed that it was the city's duty to pay, but there was no money in the treasury, and the populace were fiercely determined that they would not submit to a special tax for that purpose.

A secret society called the *Grande Cumpanie* was formed for the purpose of resisting any effort to impose or collect such a tax. The three leaders of this society, named Kenner, Hoen and de Wilde, conspired not only to prevent the tax, but also to incite the guilds and unions to revolt and to overthrow the constitution.

Meanwhile the friends of the prisoners, who were all of the upper classes, pressed for the tax.

The senate, recognizing the danger, summoned the chamber of commerce to a conference, at which all were agreed that the tax was urgently necessary, and that they would endorse the action of the senate, pay their share, and in case of disturbance aid the government to the extent of their power.

The tax was announced, and tumults began at once. Crowds gathered and marched through the streets carrying a flag with the arms of the city, and threatening to overthrow the government. They attacked the houses of Albert Doneldey and Johannes von Recken, leading advocates of the obnoxious tax,

and not finding those senators at home, wreaked their vengeance on the beds and furniture, which they tore and broke to pieces.

The rioting continued for several days, the senate appearing to be cowed. They had, however, sent for aid to all the nobles and knights of the neighbourhood, and one morning the senators appeared in full armour at the head of a large body of knights. The great bell was rung, and all the friends of order rallied at once to the city's standard.

The conspirators took fright, and most of their leaders fled. A few, however, were taken, and a court was promptly held at which the prisoners were tried and condemned to death and their property confiscated. Eighteen were beheaded, and those who had escaped by flight were outlawed. The rest were pardoned.

Kenner and Hoen, who had fled, were caught in other towns and beheaded, but the other fugitives concealed themselves, and in time gave further trouble.

Meanwhile Moritz had retained the castles and estates of the province, and declined to recognize Albert of Brunswick as archbishop, who at last, with his father the duke, took up arms and in a very short time by their energy and promptitude captured Stade, Buxtehude, and several castles, and were investing Vörde when Moritz quite suddenly submitted, resigning the management of diocesan affairs, which he had had for seventeen years, releasing the city from her allegiance to him and retiring to his private castle of Hagen.

Duke Magnus accompanied his son to Bremen, where Albert solemnly confirmed the city's privileges, and at Langwedel received the homage of the senate and their promise to be true to him as a man to his master, so far as agreed with the customs, habits, freedom, privileges and laws of Bremen. The next day all the clergy and many of the citizens went to Langwedel and conducted the archbishop in triumphal procession to the city; princes, nobles, knights and citizens vying with each other in their splendid apparel.

The duke signalized the beginning of his son's reign by a series of brilliant entertainments, at which everything seemed to promise peace and harmony.

In 1362 Bremen was called upon by Lübeck to send her contingent to the fleet which was gathering to attack the Danes, and the Bremen ship which joined that unlucky expedition carried fifty men selected for their size and strength.

They attracted much attention on this account, and also

because they were all dressed alike, uniforms being then unusual. They were more praised than any others by the general-in-chief, Count Henry of Holstein.

When in the following year the war with Denmark was renewed and brought to a satisfactory conclusion, Bremen was unable to take any part, being constrained to excuse herself on account of having her hands full at home.

CHAPTER XII

CIVIL WAR

INDEED, civil war was once more dividing the strength of the city, as we have seen.

Those leaders of the Grande Cumpanie who had escaped were naturally resentful and anxious to regain their property, to return to their homes and to triumph over their enemies. They still had friends in the city, with whom they kept up communications and with whom they began a new conspiracy.

Despite his oaths, his pledges, his friendliness, Archbishop Albert was a typical noble of his time—that is, he had no principles whatever, and he regarded it as rather a clever and humorous thing to deceive or outwit an inferior. If he lied to an equal he might be called to account, and that might not always be pleasant. Now this archbishop had taken into his service the notorious pirate Johannes Hollmann, who was living in a sort of fortified house in the city near the river-bank. Hollmann joined in the conspiracy, and, knowing his master, advised the banished citizens to confide in the archbishop and get him to join the plot. They did so, and found his Grace ready and eager to join them, as a means of overthrowing the senate and, as he hoped, of regaining powers which had been enjoyed by his predecessors two centuries before.

The plot was a good plot. On the Friday before Whitsunday 1366 the banished men and some of the archbishop's troops dropped down the river in boats by night, guided by lanterns hung out of his house by the ex-pirate. The conspirators within the walls found some means of opening the Bridge Gate and the Heerden Gate (opposite the spot where Hillmann's hotel now stands), and admitted the conspirators from without. Together they marched through the streets to

the market-place. The traitors had a double traitor in their midst, who made his way to Senator Gröning and told him what was taking place; but it was too late.

Suddenly the citizens, sleeping peacefully, suspecting no evil, were awakened by the shouts of multitudes in the streets, followed by the wild ringing of the alarm bell. Men grasped their arms and rushed into the streets, only to find them filled with strange soldiers and bewildered citizens.

Gröning hastily collected a few friends, and, holding aloft the city standard, he stood in St. Ansgar's place calling upon the citizens to rally around him in defence of their homes. He fully expected all to join him against the unknown invaders; but only very few did so.

The burgomaster, von der Tiefe, was either a coward or a traitor, and two senators were among the conspirators. Some of the other senators and some other reputable citizens found their way to Gröning's side. Others, gathering a few valuables together, made their escape.

Meanwhile Johann Hollmann, the pirate, stood in the market-place roaring with his mighty voice for "all who care for their old rights and liberties come to me. My lord of Bremen has come to free you from your oppressors and to see that justice is done." Many joined him in the darkness and confusion; and then Gröning was seen with the city standard marching down the Hutfilterstrasse. The two parties met, and in the struggle which followed the flagstaff which Gröning held was cut in two, leaving him but the stump, with which he fought. He and his small band were forced, fighting, up the steps of the Rathhaus, and there, before the closed doors, two senators, Wilkin Steding and Dedeken, and some others were killed and the others captured.

Such senators and others as had not been taken or slain, and who were opposed to the archbishop and his new allies, fled, and morning found the conspirators in full possession of the city.

It was not long before the people knew what their dear lord archbishop meant by their old rights, liberty and justice! He hastened to the city. In his presence the great wooden statue of Roland which stood in the market-place, the symbol of civic liberty, was burned by his soldiers. Two houses were strengthened and used as strongholds to overawe the people. The senators and other reputable persons who had escaped were outlawed, and all their property was at once taken possession

of by the archbishop. The people elected a new senate of more than one hundred men of their own class; but they were powerless to resist the archbishop, who ruled them with iron severity, abrogated all treaties and broke all promises. So heavy was his hand that the new senate begged him to go away, and induced him to do so by making him a present of the two important castles of Stotel and Thedinghausen, and promising to pay him 20,000 marks.

He went, but he left his troops, who acted as if they were the victorious occupants of a conquered city.

The people bitterly repented the mistake they had made, and sent to the banished senators, begging them to return.

Meanwhile most of those fugitives had found refuge in Delmenhorst and Oldenburg, the counts of those places being unfriendly to the archbishop.

One of the senators, von Haaren, on the night of terror, when all was confusion and riot, had left all of his own valuables behind him and fled with the document in which, only three years before, Archbishop Albert had solemnly promised to recognize and maintain all the rights and privileges of the city, and which he had sealed and sworn to in the presence of many witnesses. With this in his hands Senator von Haaren travelled from town to town, telling his tale and proclaiming the archbishop's infamy.

The exiles did not take much time to raise an army, with which they appeared before the city, just four weeks after their flight. The Counts of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst were with them, and all were received with joy by the people, who, already weary of their tyrant, threw open the gates. The archbishop's men took refuge in their newly fortified houses near the Osterthor, but they were speedily driven out, and Count Kurt von Oldenburg, with his own hands, slew the giant pirate Hollmann. The other ringleaders who were caught were killed, some on the scaffold and some hanged in their own doorways—such were the tender mercies of those times. Only a few escaped, never to reappear, and the people were once more pardoned.

The chief criminal was, for the moment, beyond their reach, but war was waged against him; and so energetic was the city on this occasion, and so general was the feeling against the archbishop, that even his own brother and cousin—the reigning Dukes of Brunswick and of Lüneburg—abandoned him with the advice to make peace at any price. He sued for peace, and was

compelled to restore Thedinghausen and Stotel, to return the city archives, which he had stolen, to reaffirm all the rights and privileges, and to give back the city's promise to pay him 20,000 marks. Nothing remained of his ill-gotten gains, and he was so deeply in debt that he was forced to sell his castle of Langwedel to the city.

All this took place in September 1366, only four months after the archbishop's successful capture of the city.

His sudden abandonment by his friends and subsequent surrender were probably due less to the dread of the Bremen army than to the fact that when old Senator von Haaren showed his document and told his tale in Lübeck, that city, in the name of the Hanseatic League, summoned the archbishop to evacuate Bremen and pay for all damage done, or answer for himself to the League.

The citizens had already recaptured their city before this summons appeared, but the archbishop was still in arms with hope of success. The entrance into the lists of the terrible League frightened his two ducal allies.

Several years later the city erected and endowed a stately altar, dedicated to St. James in the Church of Our Lady, as a memorial of the archbishop's defeat; and that prelate was compelled, by orders from the pope, to be present in person and take part in the dedication.

The old constitution, as it had existed before 1330, was restored. The patricians once more ruled the city, and artisans and retail dealers were no longer eligible for election to the senate.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FREE FRISIANS

THE free Frisians, who occupied the low coast lands on both sides of the Weser and between that river and the Dollart and the Zuyder Zee, as well as the islands off the coast, were a hardy, independent people who were so careful of their freedom, and so fearful of falling a prey to some possible tyrant, that they took great precautions to prevent such a catastrophe.

They governed themselves much as the Anglo-Saxons are said to have done. They held mass meetings at designated places

in the open air, and there made their laws and decided upon peace, war, and other important matters.

They allowed no houses, except the churches, to be built of stone, and no building, again except the churches, to be more than twelve feet high, for fear that some castle or fortress might be erected, and perhaps in time become the grave of their liberties. Yet, little by little, the whole land had been divided among petty chieftains who were constantly warring with each other and with their neighbours, until the once free and sovereign people were glad when any strong man arose to give them some hope of harmony and peace.

Thus in Budjadingen, Lubbe Sibeth was chosen leader; and the people of Rustringen chose Edo Wimken; and both of these fortified the churches and put down the petty tyrants, of which nearly every village had one.

With all their love of freedom, the Frisians were cruel, dishonest and sly. They were not to be trusted. Lubbe Sibeth's son was a ferocious pirate, and the Frisians generally were as much addicted to piracy as the nobles of the interior were to highway robbery.

Edo Wimken succeeded in uniting most of the tribes west of the Jahde, and he lived, with occasional lapses, at peace with Bremen for a number of years. At last, however, he became one of her worst enemies.

On the other hand, Lubbe Sibeth preyed on the goods of his neighbours of Bremen and Oldenburg both on land and sea, and in 1368 a general expedition against him was decided on. Four counts of the Oldenburg family, including the experienced old dean Moritz, who had for so many years controlled the temporal affairs of the province, and the count of Neubrunshausen, were joined by the city with many ships. The army landed at Blexen, whose petty chieftain, one Iko Boling, offered to surrender his village, to collect tribute—in short, to do anything to induce them to withdraw. The invaders, however, had determined to give the Frisians a lesson which they would take long to forget, and to gather in a booty large enough to pay the expenses of the war.

They felt so secure, because of their numbers and strength, that they haughtily refused all offers of compromise, and marched away inland from the river.

Their confidence was so overweening that they neglected ordinary precautions, and allowed their army to be enticed in different directions, and, though thus divided, kept no outposts.

The wily Iko Boling, who was on the watch, roused the country secretly and quickly, and, attacking suddenly, first one division and then the other, annihilated both.

The famous old Count Moritz and all the other leaders, except Count Conrad of Oldenburg, lost their lives, and among the slain were ten senators from Bremen.

The lesson had been taught, but it was the Frisians who were the teachers at this battle of Koldewarf, as the chroniclers call it.

After this disaster Bremen took another method of obtaining peace, and by diplomacy, aided by the treasury, secured treaties with the Weser Frisians, which were more or less faithfully observed during the rest of the century.

In 1375 the city acquired the petty land of Rothenkirchen, thus obtaining a permanent and useful foothold on the lower Weser.

Oldenburg, on the other hand, thirsting for revenge, again invaded Rustringen the next year after the battle of Koldewarf; but was compelled to retreat with the loss of five hundred men.

Soon after this Hoyo Husekens, chief of Esenham, became notorious for the boldness of his piracy and for his revolting cruelty. His treatment of his prisoners, of his people, and even of his own wife, was such that the latter, who was a sister of Edo Wimken, the powerful chief of the Jever Frisians, was glad to escape with her life. Her brother, furious at this insult to his sister, joined Bremen, whose commerce had been seriously interfered with, and sent an army to punish Hoyo. Other Frisians joined the expedition, to which we learn the city contributed one thousand men, both horse and foot, with catapults and beer sufficient for the whole army. The Frisians supplied all cattle, swine, butter and cheese.

The church at Esenham, like all the Frisian churches, had been fortified, and was unusually strong. It was able to withstand the attack of the combined enemy for a fortnight, since it had double walls, a high tower and a wide moat, besides being well supplied with provisions.

After using a very large number of arrows and stones, however, the enemy took it, and completely destroyed it. All the other churches in the land surrendered, and the people submitted when the enemy came near. The land itself was given to Lubbe Onken, but its cruel chieftain was carried off by his enraged brother-in-law, who threw him into the dungeons of Jever.

Castle, and there, with a grim humour, subjected him in turn to all the different kinds of torture he had been known to apply to his own prisoners, when trying to extort heavy ransoms or valuable information from them. Finally he was killed by an invention of his own, being torn to pieces on a rack the ropes of which were made of hair instead of hemp, thus, it was believed, prolonging the agony.

The smaller chieftains were subdued and kept in order, but the great Edo Wimken, Prince of Jever, became one of the most successful pirates of his day, preying almost entirely on the commerce of the Netherlands. By a stratagem, in which advantage was taken of Edo's well-known hospitality, he was captured and taken to Stavoren, whence he was ransomed for forty thousand guilders. As soon as he was free, he engaged in piracy more strenuously than ever, and did great damage to Dutch and Flemish commerce. Holland, smarting under her losses, revenged herself by attacking and ravaging the island of Wanderoog, whence they carried a great quantity of plunder. Enraged by this, Edo, hoping to make good his losses, allied himself with the notorious Vitalian brethren, and plundered some ships belonging to Germans.

The mighty Hansa, especially urged to do so by Bremen, sent out a strong fleet against him, and, after a series of successful encounters, drove Edo out of his country. He died in exile at Stavoren in 1410.

The Frisians were not the only enemy the city had to encounter during this period. The egregious Archbishop Albert, owing to his extravagance and evil life, was in bad repute everywhere. The city profited by his constant want of money, and at different times bought from him long leases of various estates, and acquired the right of coinage.

The Dean of Bremen, John von Lesterfleth, accused the archbishop of a gross crime, one which must have involved his deposition had he been proved guilty. He denied the charge, and all north Germany rang with the scandal. Although the charge was declared not proven, Albert was practically compelled to transfer the oversight of the province to the provost, Von Schaumburg, of Hamburg.

The Dean of Bremen, who had been induced to suppress his charges, though he never withdrew them, was soon after made Bishop of Verden, and there he incited the nobles of his diocese, especially the Mandellslohs, to attack the temporal possessions of the archbishop; and as most of these were leased

to the city, both city and chapter were compelled to go to war in defence of their property.

The two forces met, a battle ensued, and Bremen was disastrously defeated; Senator Gröning and a number of other important people were killed, and the Provost of Hadeln, Senator Donelhey, and three other senators, were captured.

As soon as possible the city and diocese prepared to avenge this blow, and they began by confiscating all of the estates of the great Mandellsloh family within the province. Fourteen castles, with the many broad acres surrounding them, were thus taken.

The Duke of Lüneburg took up the cause of his great vassals, the Mandellslohs, and attacked Langwedel. The city, whose vigorous government differed widely from that at the beginning of Albert's reign, instantly retaliated by sending a body of three hundred knights into Lüneburg territory, burning and plundering wherever they went, and surprising and destroying Walsrode.

The duke found the game was becoming unpleasant, and he abandoned his allies as suddenly as he had joined them and begged for peace.

The city then began a systematic warfare upon the robber nobles who had sided with the Bishop of Verden. They captured the notorious Drakenburg and razed it to the ground. They then turned upon Twischenburg, whose owners themselves set it on fire and fled. The next object of attack was the very strong castle of Brobergen, which was stormed and taken and kept by the city to help in protecting that commerce upon which it had hitherto preyed.

The last place captured was Bederkesa. Albert died in 1395, leaving the province impoverished by his extravagance. His arch enemy, the Bishop of Verden, was already dead, and had been succeeded in the bishopric by a nephew of Albert, a son of the Duke of Brunswick, and this new Bishop of Verden was now made archbishop. He carried with him to Bremen many valuable jewels and other treasures which had been given or bequeathed to Verden by his predecessor, John von Lesterfleth. He also, for several years, refused to give up the Rothenburg, a castle belonging to the diocese of Verden; and, to the dismay of Bremen, he handed over to his brother, the Duke of Brunswick, the castle of Langwedel, one of the most important fortresses in the whole province. It cost the city three thousand guldens to get it back, besides again involving

them in a tedious feud with their old enemies, the Mandellslohs and Count Hoya, as well as with the Münchhausen family—a conflict which was not finished until the beginning of the new century.

CHAPTER XIV

FRISIANS AND PIRATES

THE constant depredations committed by the Frisians dwelling along the Weser compelled Bremen, to whom it was of vital importance to have her approaches safe by land and sea, to undertake a series of punitive expeditions, lasting over many years and resulting in the overthrow of many Frisian chieftains who had tried in vain to make an honest living by theft and piracy. In 1407 Bremen built a great stronghold, meant to keep the peace and consequently called the Friedburg, in the heart of Rustringen, whence the Frisians could be overawed.

Dido Lübben of Langwarden had been the ally of the city on many of these expeditions; but when he was ordered to give up his own lands and receive them again as a vassal of Bremen he rebelled. The territory had been his own; he had never known an overlord, and he could not brook the idea of owing fealty to the senate. He and his people began plundering Bremen ships on the lower Weser, and Dido declared that he should never rest until the Friedburg was destroyed and the old Frisian liberty restored. This feeling was by no means shared by all the people, many of whom regarded Dido and his fellow-chiefs as the destroyers of the famous old Frisian freedom and as usurpers. They were better off under the city's rule than under that of the dispossessed tyrants.

The subjugated part of Frisia was called Stadtland, to show that it belonged to the stadt or city of Bremen and not to the archbishop. Several of the deposed chiefs in Stadtland, as well as Dido, were giving trouble, and the city sent out a force of 300 knights and 3000 footmen, who overran Stadtland and Rustringen, destroying a good many strongholds and bringing the chieftains to their senses, compelling them all once more to swear fidelity to Bremen.

A short period of peace followed; but in 1418 a general uprising took place of all the chiefs on both sides of the Weser.

The leaders were Dido and Gerold, two sons of the old Dido Lübben.

These chieftains, with a few others, determined to surprise and destroy the hated Friedberg, and on the night of October 5, 1418, forty-four of them attempted to enter that castle with siege-ladders. They had crossed the moat and scaled the outer wall, when they were discovered by the castellan, Ballehr, who sounded the alarm. A fight ensued, during which Ballehr was killed; but Dido and Gerold, with most of the Frisians who were not killed, were captured. Two chiefs, named Rode and Dure Eden, ran away.

The prisoners were triumphantly carried to Bremen, where they were tried, convicted of breaking their oaths and of treason, and condemned to death.

They were taken, bound, to the market-place, surrounded by guards and a great crowd of senators and people. Dido's head was the first to fall, and as it rolled on the ground Gerold picked it up and kissed the pale dead lips.

Gerold was barely twenty years old, a handsome young giant with long, curling yellow hair, and this action, together with his youth and comeliness, so moved the people that they clamoured for his pardon. The senators consulted together, and then informed young Gerold that if he would promise to settle down and become a loyal citizen in Bremen, they would give him his life and find him a suitable wife among the fair daughters of the city.

For a moment only he hesitated; then he said: "A man of my birth cannot marry one of your shopkeeper's daughters; but if you will set me free I will fill a half-bushel measure with golden guildens for you."

Some of the senators were for accepting this ransom, despite the insult, but Johann Ballehr, a cousin of the unfortunate commandant of the Friedburg, said: "That last brotherly kiss will never be forgotten. We cannot afford to sell him his life. If he will not take it from us as a gift on our terms, let him lose it." Gerold refused to yield, and his head was severed from his body.

They buried the brothers near the cathedral, and a time-worn monument in the old cloisters is said to commemorate those two young Frisian chieftains.

But Dido Lübben and his two sons were not the only Frisian leaders to give trouble. Witzold von dem Broke in East Frisia and Edo Wummeken in West Frisia were among the most

troublesome. They allied themselves closely with those terrible pirates the Vitalian brotherhood. It is true that Albert, Duke of Holland, Konrad, Count of Oldenburg, and various other German princes had from time to time made use of those free-booters, but Edo Wummeken took them entirely under his protection and married his daughter to one of their leaders.

In 1398 Bremen appealed to the Hansa to aid in fighting the combined Frisians and pirates, and Edo was forced to abandon his allies and promise to give them no further recognition or aid. Yet two years later he was again in close alliance with them.

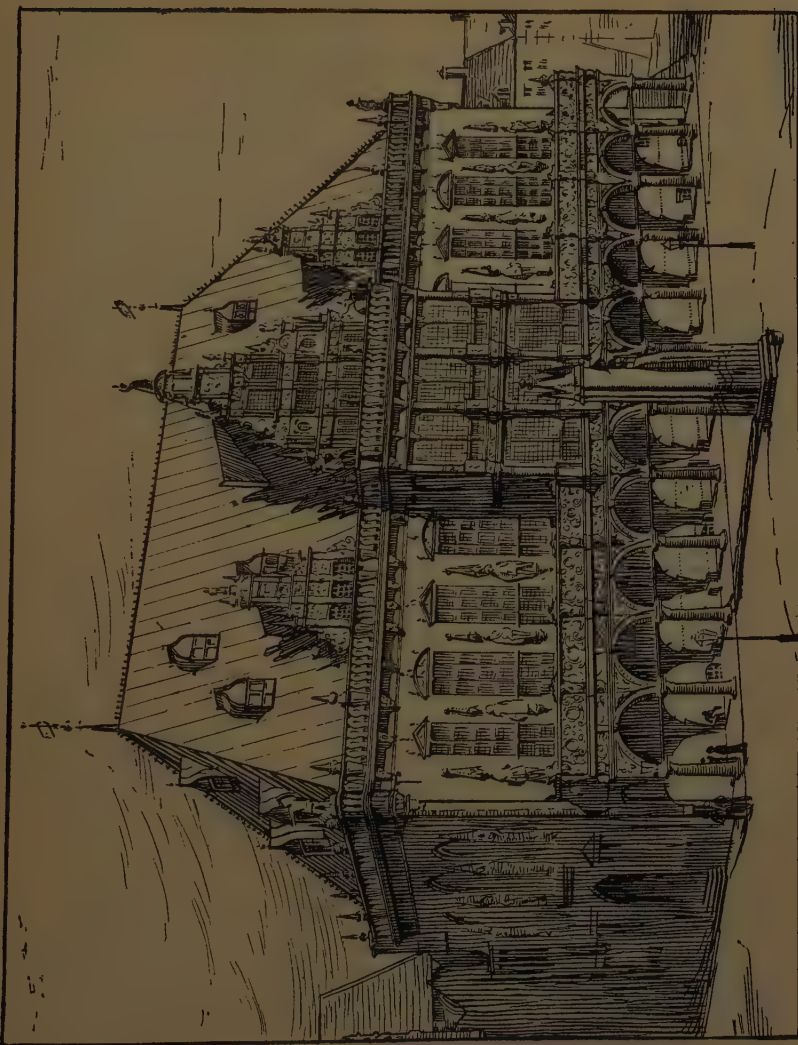
In May 1400 a Hanseatic fleet attacked the pirates at the mouth of the Ems, killed eighty of them and captured a number of ships. There was a great victory. Many of the pirates reached the land and escaped, but twenty-five of them were delivered to the Germans by the Frisians with whom they had taken refuge, and these were taken to Emden and publicly executed in that city—the capital of their ally Edo.

Then the different leaders of the Hanseatic fleet quarrelled. Bremen insisted that Hisko von Emden and Edo Wummeken were the most dangerous of their enemies and should be dealt with at once, whilst Hamburg and Lübeck regarded Kuno von dem Broke as the worst. They prevailed, and Kuno was captured and taken, a prisoner, to Bremen, after having had five castles taken from him.¹

In 1409 Bremen was compelled to send a strong fleet to Jahde, where Edo Wummeken was harbouring the Vitalian brethren. Several valuable ships full of merchandise were re-taken from the pirates, and Edo and other chiefs signed one of their numerous promises to do so no more. In June 1410 they signed another treaty, but intermittent warfare continued until the suppression, in 1418, of that insurrection in which Dido and Gerold lost their lives.

After that Bremen held undisputed rule for several years over large Frisian territories—larger, indeed, than were ruled by any other single city in Germany. She had reached the highest point of her power. All the roads in her neighbourhood were safe, the river was free from pirates, and her trade flourished as it had never flourished before. This period of prosperity

¹ During this prosperous period in Bremen, two of the most remarkable works of art in the city were completed. In 1404 the great stone statue of Roland, in the market-place, was made, and May 6, 1405, the corner-stone of the beautiful Rathaus was laid. It was completed and occupied in 1407. The statue can be seen in the foreground of the illustration on page 97.



COUNCIL HOUSE, BREMEN

was not unwelcome to the people of Frisia, who found themselves justly governed by wise laws. Nor were they oppressively taxed. The Frisian chieftains, on the other hand, deprived of power and chafing under the frowning Friedburg, that emblem of their conqueror's power, were very restless, and soon conspired to throw off the yoke of the shopkeepers.

The leaders—heroes of Frisian legend and ballad—were Sybeth Papinga, Ocko tom Broke and Focko Ukena. These subjugated rulers won over the free and independent Frisian princes who still reigned in the vicinity of the Dollart and the Zuyder Zee. Suddenly, in the midst of profound peace, those princes sent an ultimatum ordering the city to destroy the Friedburg and all other strongholds, and to restore their lands to all the deposed Frisian chiefs. Before there was time for this missive to reach the city, Papinga landed 4000 men at Brake on the Weser, on Ascension Day 1424. He marched to the Friedburg, which its keeper surrendered without a blow. After destroying the castle he took, one after another, all the fortified churches in western Frisia. In fact, the whole country was lost to Bremen before the senate had received the declaration of war.

Unprepared and surprised, the senate seems, in the most unaccountable way, to have accepted this blow, and, urged thereto by Hamburg and Lübeck, to have made a treaty of peace with the Frisians under which she abandoned the whole of her hard-won possessions west of the Weser.

One reason for this singular action on the part of Bremen was that she found herself surrounded by powerful enemies ready to take advantage of any weakness. Ocko was not only a great Frisian hero, famous for his beauty and strength and for his love affairs with Queen Joanna of Naples, but he had as friends and allies the Archbishop of Bremen, the Duke of Brunswick and the Counts of Oldenburg and Hoya, all of whom were his near relatives and all of whom were jealous of Bremen's growing power. However, whatever the reasons, Bremen quietly submitted to the loss of Rustringen and Budjadingen.

Hardly had the peace been concluded when Ocko and Focko fell out, and each struggled for the headship. Ocko, with an army of 11,000 men, led by his relatives, dukes, counts and bishops, all anxious to share in his triumph, invaded Focko's lands.

Focko, taken by surprise, escaped with but fifty followers. He promptly broke down the dykes, and the invaders found

themselves in the midst of marshes up to their waists in mud and water. Focko, whose people were hurrying to him from all parts of the land, hovered about the enemy until, when near Deterden, he swooped down upon them and overwhelmed them. Many of Ocko's noble relatives, with their followers, died in the swamps, and 3000 prisoners were taken, among them being the Archbishop Nicholas of Bremen and the Count of Hoya.

After this victory in 1426 Focko for a short time became the leading figure in Frisia. In 1426 he and his son-in-law, Papinga, began an expedition, taking with them 400 knights, 3000 men and many ships, the object of which was the surprise and capture of Bremen. After starting, the knights quarrelled among themselves, and the enterprise was abandoned. Shortly after this the Frisians rose against him and besieged him in his castle, the Fockenburg. The garrison, running short of provisions, submitted, and were allowed to march out with what they could carry. The old chief was not included in this arrangement, but his wife carried him out on her back. The enemy, seeing this act of devotion, granted him his life and liberty. He died in 1435.

After the victory of Deterden, Focko had demanded 20,000 Bremen marks, an impossible sum, as ransom for the archbishop and Count Hoya. The city sent Burgomaster Johann Vassmer to negotiate for the release of the prisoners. This astute statesman was so eloquent and so diplomatic that he persuaded Focko to release the archbishop and 1,500 of his men without any ransom at all. This success was so unexpected that the senate and people, carried away by their enthusiasm, offered Vassmer any reward he might ask. He replied that he was an old man with few wants, and all he asked was the good-will of the city for himself and family.

During the civil war which soon after afflicted Bremen, the old burgomaster was unjustly suspected of intriguing with the party which was then out of power and favour, and after a mockery of a trial before his undutiful son-in-law, Johann von Minden, was, despite his protests of innocence, condemned to death and immediately beheaded.

His property was confiscated, and his widow, two daughters, one brother and one son fell victims to this calamity. One son, however, survived, and vowed to clear his father's name. After many difficulties and adventures he succeeded in laying the case before the emperor and in getting a decree of outlawry issued against the city. Armed with this and with general sympathy,

he had Bremen merchants seized and imprisoned in Hamburg and other cities. Bremen was compelled to reinvestigate the Vassmer case, and in consequence the family property was returned to the surviving son, to whom heavy damages were also decreed, as well as fines to the emperor. The city wine-vaults, under the Rathaus, were handed over to young Vassmer to hold until every penny was paid. The senate was instructed to dedicate an altar in St. Ansgar's Church to the memory of the murdered burgomaster. Over his grave in St. Paul's Church a stone was placed with the inscription: "Here lies the innocent Vassmer," and a stone cross ¹ was erected at the spot where he was beheaded. The loyal son who so successfully laboured to rehabilitate his father's name became a senator some years later, and died in 1641. Several of his descendants were senators in their time, and the last of the name, Herrmann Vassmer, was burgomaster. He died in 1576.

CHAPTER XV

REVOLUTION

THE loss by Bremen of the lordship over the lands on the left bank of the Weser did not, on the whole, do the city much harm. The quarrels among the chieftains so weakened them that they fell easy victims to the Frisian people, who rose and deprived them of the power which their ancestors had usurped, and restored the old free constitution. Sixteen members were elected, fresh every year, to a council which, in connection with the popular assemblages, governed the country. This new, popular government signed a treaty of mutual defence with Bremen against all lords, princes and cities, German or Frisian. They helped police the river, and, not long after, when the former chiefs humbly begged Bremen to aid them in recovering their property which had been confiscated, the people restored the confiscated goods on condition that the recipients renounced all claim to any rights as rulers, princes or governors.

As long as Bremen was successful in her wars the people submitted to the heavy taxation that was necessary, but when, after the defeat in 1424, it was again necessary to increase the

¹ This latter monument is still to be seen at the corner of the Kuhlhökerstrasse and the Bauernstrasse.

taxes, trouble began. Burgomaster Herbord Duckel was openly accused of embezzling public money. The working men's unions demanded his impeachment, and he was forced to resign his office and pay a large sum of money into the city treasury. Duckel left Bremen at once and took refuge in



CROSS ON THE SPOT WHERE VASSMER WAS BEHEADED

Stade, whence he appealed to the Hanseatic Congress, then in session at Lübeck, and that conservative body gave a verdict in his favour.

Since the triumph of the old senate of Lübeck over the new senate, in 1416, the majority of the members of the Hanseatic Congress had been very conservative, and had passed a law

expelling from the League any city which might permit its senate to be elected by the citizens.

September 13, 1425, the Hansa ordered Bremen to repay the money to Harbord Duckel, which had been extorted from him, to reinstate him in his office of burgomaster, and to pay him proper compensation for disturbance. Should Bremen fail to do these things the League intimated that such contumacy should not remain unpunished.

The city replied that the League must have been misinformed, as Duckel had not been dismissed from his office, but had resigned. Further, the senate averred that he and his family should receive justice should they come and apply for it. Further, the senate expressed surprise at the tone and attitude of the League.

A month later Lübeck answered, claiming that the action of the League had been correct; but suggesting that the matter in dispute should be submitted to arbitration, and proposing that the arbitrators should be appointed, one each, by the senates of Hamburg, Lüneburg, Stade and Buxtehude.

After some hesitation Bremen declined this proposition, claiming that the case did not come under the law against the interference of citizens. At the same time she summoned Duckel to appear before the archbishop. The archbishop, himself, wrote to Lübeck, who, however, sent the correspondence to Hamburg and announced her intention of bringing the matter before the next Hansatag.

Bremen and the archbishop were now allied and fighting against the Duke of Lüneburg, the cities of Lüneburg and Brunswick and the Duke of Lauenburg. When the Hansa met in June, Bremen, being unwilling to submit the Duckel affair to its judgment, declared that she was unable to appear at that Congress because of the war in which she was engaged. The reply of the Hansa was a summons to submit the case to the judgment of Hamburg and Lüneburg, although the latter city was at war with Bremen. Bremen very properly refused to accept. Hamburg repeated the invitation, but Bremen refused, and once more summoned Duckel to come before the archbishop.

However, before this could be answered, the archbishop had been defeated and taken prisoner by the Frisians in the great battle of Deterden, which has already been mentioned.

Bremen was deeply moved by this disaster, and on November 16, 1426, the citizens appeared in a body before the senate, demanding a revision of the constitution. The senate replied

by resigning in a body. An election of a new senate took place, in which all the male citizens voted. Ten of the old senators and four new ones were chosen. The wise leaders of the revolution thus gradually began the change. The formulation of a new constitution was then begun, and was carefully continued for more than a year.

This was a distinct violation of the law of the Hansa that no city permitting its senate to be elected by the citizens could be permitted to belong to the League. Consequently a Hansatag was summoned to meet at Brunswick, March 12, 1427, to which Bremen was not summoned and at which Bremen was solemnly expelled from the League. All cities connected with the League were warned that if they transacted any business with the ejected city they should suffer the same penalty.

So many cities which were not represented at the Congress protested against this decision that its fulfilment was postponed, and Bremen was once more summoned to appear at Lübeck, June 12, and justify her conduct.

At that time, however, Bremen was fully occupied by her great effort, in conjunction with the Count of Oldenburg, to overthrow Focko Ukenas and Sibet of Rustringen. We have already seen how successful that effort was. The city, not being represented at the Congress, was formally expelled from the League, but her senate wrote to other cities and countries protesting, and in at least two cases with success, as Denmark and Dortmund continued their intercourse as usual.

At this time the banished senators and Burgomaster Duckel persuaded the emperor to place the city under ban, and the people had some evil days; but even then the revision and modernizing of the constitution went steadily forward. The senate was to consist of fourteen members, two of whom were the burgomasters. They were elected for one year and could not be re-elected until at least one year after serving. Seven were chosen at a time every six months. Every senator must not only be a free man, but must have been born free, must be legitimate, more than twenty-four years of age, and possessed of at least one hundred marks' worth of property in the city. No relations within the third degree might sit at the same time. The senators were chosen by a limited number of electors, who were themselves chosen by lot; three from members of the merchants' union, three from among the retiring senators, and three from members of the guilds of artisans.

The old patrician element opposed this new constitution, and many of them fled and joined Burgomaster Duckel in Stade. But for five years the city lived under its new constitution.

In spite of ban and expulsion the city made treaties of alliance with Stade and Buxtehude, with the archbishop and with the Count of Hoya.

In 1430 the Hansa itself, chastened by its unlucky war with Denmark and by serious rebellions against patrician rule (in Wismar, where two conservative senators were beheaded; in Hamburg, where one senator lost his life; and in Lübeck herself, where Burgomaster Tiedeman Steen was imprisoned), made offers of peace, instructing the cities of Hamburg, Lübeck and Lüneburg to conduct the negotiations. This offer came just after the execution of Burgomaster Vassmer, accused of plotting with the exiles at Stade, and was abortive.

The city appealed to the pope, who appointed the Archbishop of Bremen, the Bishop of Lübeck and the Abbot of Lüne to act as judges. Those prelates, after investigation, excommunicated the new government and threatened the whole city with the same fate. Just then, however, the city's ambassadors induced the emperor to remove his ban on condition that they should appear before the high court to answer the charges of Burgomaster Duckel and the old senators. Both parties duly appeared before the emperor, a cardinal and a large number of other princes. Here also came Vassmer's son, accusing the new senate of the murder of his father. The murder of one of the emperor's messengers, who was bearer of unwelcome documents, was also charged. The city was ordered within six weeks and three days to restore to the old senators and their friends all their offices and goods and to pay a fine of 22,000 marks gold. The affairs of the murders—of Vassmer and of the imperial messenger—were held over for further investigation. In case the city should refuse to obey this command at once, the ban was to be renewed, and all persons, cities, and especially the League of the Hansa, were forbidden to have any intercourse of any kind with the citizens of Bremen.

Curiously enough the Hansa refused to obey this edict, as did also all the neighbouring princes, excepting, indeed, their own archbishop Nicholas, who was, however, rendered innocuous by an alliance which the city made with the Bishop of Verden, the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg and the chapter of Bremen, to all of whom Archbishop Nicholas was obnoxious.

To make the confusion more confounded, no sooner was the

archbishop brought to terms and forced to sign a treaty of peace with the new government, than the same dukes who had aided the city allied themselves with Ducker and the old senate against the new government. For this change the dukes received a bribe of five hundred marks down and a promise of five thousand marks within two years of the reinstatement of the old senate. This money, it seems, was earned and duly paid. There was much fighting. The Count of Hoya was taken prisoner, the city of Verden was seriously damaged and the reactionaries triumphed.

In the meantime, the new senate had appealed to the council of Basle, which took up the case and ordered the Bishop of Lübeck to remove the excommunication, at the same time summoning him and the old senate to appear before them. However, before this order could be obeyed, the Hansa had again interfered, fearing that Bremen might, through exhaustion, fall into the hands of some neighbouring prince, and had succeeded in bringing about a compromise.

The burgomasters of Lübeck, Hamburg, Lüneburg and Stade met the Count of Hoya in Bremen, and persuaded the two parties to come to terms. The old senate was restored to power, and the new constitution was withdrawn; but all the obligations of the new senate were acknowledged and taken over, and the restored senators agreed to collaborate with the outgoing new senators in revising the code. All citizens who had been banished, or who had banished themselves, were free to come back; all confiscated goods were returned and all political differences were to be forgiven and forgotten. The power of the senate was lessened by the formal recognition of all the rights, privileges and customs of the guilds and unions.

The new senators retired and the old senators resumed their seats. The improved state of feeling was shown by the choice of several of the retiring new senators to fill vacancies caused by death during the period of revolution.

Although no mention of Duckel was made in the new treaty of peace, it is probable that the new senate refused to treat at all unless he were thrown over, and that the old senate quite willingly dropped him. At any rate, he alone of the old senators who were living did not return. He alone was not restored to office, nor do his confiscated goods seem to have been returned. He simply, and rather mysteriously, disappears from history.

CHAPTER XVI

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC WARS

THE laws were promptly revised. The senate was once more declared to be a body the members of which were elected for life by the other members, but it was no longer legal to have more than one member of the same family at the same time in that body. This constitution, as revised and restored, practically continued to exist, in spite of several efforts made by the disfranchised to change it, until the time of Napoleon.

Immediately after peace had thus been established, Bremen was formally admitted to the Hansa. The ban of the emperor continued for some time, and was not removed until the younger Vassmer had obtained the recognition of his father's innocence and the return of his property, after which, on payment of a fine of 2,200 marks of gold to the emperor, the city was formally reinstated in her rights, March 4, 1436.

Before this Bremen had been almost constantly at war, and had found it very difficult to raise the money necessary to satisfy the emperor and repay the Vassmers. She had joined with Oldenburg in a raid against the Frisian chief Sibet, whose castle on the Jahde was a haunt of pirates. She had also joined the new archbishop, Baldwin, the Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg and the Bishop of Verden in waging war on the Count of Hoya, and had taken from him several castles and estates which had been given to him by the late Archbishop Nicholas, to whom they never belonged, as pledges for money he borrowed.

Bremen was in a very low financial condition at the time the ban was removed and when she was readmitted to the Hansa. She borrowed wherever she could in order to raise money necessary to pay the various fines and legal expenses and indemnities; but her trade at once revived, and in a few years was so successful that the city was richer and more prosperous than ever before. That the citizens had confidence that this would be so is shown by the fact that many of them lent large sums to the almost bankrupt city treasury to enable it to pay the more pressing debts.

In 1437 Bremen, Stade, Lüneburg and Buxtehude formed a confederacy for the purpose of bringing the diocese to order and for mutual protection.

In 1438 Lübeck and the Wendish towns, with Hamburg and Lüneburg, decided to make war on Philip the Good of the Netherlands, who had been systematically preying upon their ships at sea—and making a very good thing of it—by way of revenge for their persistent and successful efforts to prevent Dutch ships from trading in the Baltic.

Bremen was not compelled to take part in this war, but she was warned not to assist the Netherlands with supplies of any sort and not to trade with that country, and Philip plainly told Haarlem and Rotterdam to take any Bremen goods or ships they could find. After several embassies and numerous protests, finding that the injuries to her shipping and trade became more frequent, and that her ambassadors were not listened to, more than a year after peace had been concluded between the other cities and Burgundy, Bremen, single-handed, declared war against Philip, who was at that time one of the most powerful of living monarchs.

In 1442 she warned the Hansa not to trade with Holland, Zeeland, Friesland or Flanders. She issued many letters of marque, and soon the German Ocean and the English Channel swarmed with her privateers, which practically swept Dutch commerce from the seas, and damaged the trade of other countries as well, since they frequently exercised the right of searching neutral vessels for contraband goods.

In 1443 Captain Grote Gerd captured thirteen Dutch ships off the Swedish coast, taking them into Wismar, where he sold them and their valuable cargoes of salt, leather and Scottish cloth. He also captured two Dutch ships coming from Dantzic with grain, after which he overhauled the Dutch fishing-fleet bound for the herring fisheries and took away their nets, thus at one blow destroying the year's herring harvest for Holland. Bremen ships blockaded the entrance to the Zuyder Zee, making it impossible for any merchant ships to come out or go in unless accompanied by war-ships. After very much damage had been done, the Dutch sent out a huge man-of-war which was also meant for trade, being laden with valuable goods which she carried safely to Spain and Italy. On her return voyage, carrying another valuable cargo, she saw some Bremen ships attacking some Dutch traders, and sailed up to protect them. Owing to her great size, the Bremers, under Captain Rotermund, failed in their first attempt to board the Dutch ship; whereupon the Dutch crew poured volleys of ridicule and derision on their devoted heads, accompanied by

a rain of round shot from their guns. Stung beyond endurance, the Bremers made a second desperate attack; succeeded in climbing on board, and, after a brisk hand-to-hand fight, captured the huge ship, which was triumphantly taken into the Weser. The cargo of southern goods was sold, and some of the captain's silver goblets figured at state banquets in Bremen for many years after. When the war was over the ship herself was restored to her owners upon payment of a large sum of money.

The Bremen sailors were so energetic that many neutral vessels were damaged or taken when carrying suspected goods, and many bitter complaints were made. Scotland seems to have suffered most—at least, the archives are said to contain many documents referring to claims made by Scotchmen, and King James sent a special ambassador to demand payment. After long discussion, during which many counter claims were put in by Bremen, the Scotch envoy accepted one small vessel with a cargo of Bremen beer as payment in full of all demands.

Henry VI. of England was not so easily satisfied, and Bremen was compelled to send a Bristol ship, which had been captured during a voyage to Sluis, back to Sluis, and pay heavy damages. The capture of a French ship led to an order from King Charles VII. that all Hanseatic ships were to be taken when seen. In consequence, a Lübeck ship was captured by the French, and the League made strong representations to Bremen. Peaceable relations between France and the League, however, were not resumed for many years. In fact, the Germans in their maritime relations were very inconsiderate of the rights of other nations. They tried to keep them out of the Baltic altogether, and were constantly bickering and quarrelling in other seas. They claimed to have superior rights, and the claim was naturally never recognized.

Bremen's war with the Netherlands lasted only one year. Philip of Burgundy signed the treaty of peace in July 1446. Bremen had triumphed over her mighty foe, who paid her 1,200 golden guilders and promised to behave better in the future.

By this bold and successful defence of her rights against a great prince like Philip of Burgundy, Bremen rose greatly in the esteem of all her neighbours, and during the next ten peaceful years she was frequently called upon to arbitrate in disputes between neighbouring cities.

At this time the Hansa was boycotting Bruges for numerous

offences, and the embargo lasted until 1457, when the Flemish city was pardoned, and the Hanseatic representatives made a formal entry into that city. These ambassadors came from Lübeck, Cologne, Hamburg and Bremen, the latter city sending Burgomaster Gröplingen and Senator Grund. The eight ambassadors, with a great following of German merchants and a mounted guard, rode in stately procession from Utrecht by way of Antwerp, Mechlin and Ghent to Bruges, where the burgomasters met them at the gates with drums and trumpets and escorted them to their lodgings. The whole city rejoiced so loud and so long that the ambassadors from Bremen were unable to sleep.

About this time Archbishop Gerhard III., a count of Hoya, endeavoured to recover some of the temporal power formerly held by his predecessors; but a combination of Bremen, Buxtehude and Stade induced him to think again and abandon his plans.

Soon after this a family quarrel occurred between the three brothers, counts of Oldenburg. One of these, Christian, had become King of Denmark and Duke of Holstein, and he and Gerhard combined to rob their brother Moritz of his patrimony and force him to become a priest. The Count of Hoya, the archbishop, and the city of Bremen, and some of the Frisian princes took the part of Moritz. The Duke of Brunswick and the Bishop of Münster aided the other brothers. Brunswick was a good general, who succeeded in out-manceuvring his antagonists and in winning a battle on Borstel Heath. We have a description of the wicked Count Gerhard of Oldenburg, who, though a highway robber and a pirate, was a famous knight. Tall and very strong, he galloped into the mêlée on a gigantic horse, swinging a huge battle hammer and dealing death and destruction along his course. The cause of justice was defeated, two counts of Hoya were taken prisoner, and, in the peace that followed, only a small portion of his rightful dominions was assigned to Count Moritz.

In 1464 the plague was very deadly, and Count Moritz died of it. Count Gerhard seized his estates, nominally as guardian for Moritz's children. This brought him close to the city, and he systematically stirred up discontent and discord among the people, setting them against the senate. A popular uprising took place, the mob stormed the rathaus and forced the rather feeble senate to throw three of the four burgomasters into prison, charged with treasonable correspondence with Count

Gerhard. They were not released for more than a year, and not until the archbishop and the Hansa had interposed on their behalf.

In 1465 Archbishop Gerhard II. died, and a Count of Schwarzburg succeeded him as Heinrich II. He was also bishop of Münster. He reigned thirty-three years, and, though he was a great militant prince of the Church, he maintained friendly relations with the city, and was for many years allied with the senate against Gerhard of Oldenburg.

This latter prince had built a castle on the Weser, from which he sent out ships to fight against Bremen, the Frisians and the Danes, for he had quarrelled with his brother the King of Denmark.

Bremen had all she could do to defend herself against the count, because she had also to take her share in the war which the Hansa was waging against both England and France. A fleet, which included two Bremen men-of-war, commanded by two senators, defeated a French fleet; but, when lying at anchor shortly after, had the misfortune to be surprised and captured by the English. Nevertheless, peace was soon afterwards made with King Edward IV., and the Hansa received very favourable conditions.

Count Gerhard of Oldenburg was a great and typical nobleman of that day. He despised the people and boasted of it, doing them all the harm he could. He was, however, an open enemy. He plainly told the people of Bremen that, in his opinion, they were "liars without honour, self-seeking perjurers, cowards, faithless scoundrels and traitors!" He captured their merchant ships at sea, made constant raids on their meadows, lifting cattle in every direction, attacked peaceful caravans on the high roads, and generally got the best of them when they met in battle.

Fortunately, the city had as ally another typical noble of the time. The archbishop was a famous soldier and a great gentleman. He made his first entry as archbishop accompanied by thirty princes and thirteen hundred noble gentlemen, and held a great tournament with splendid festivities. He cared no more for the people than did the count; but he sincerely objected to the count's frequent raids across diocesan meadows, as well as to his having taken possession of certain estates in Oldenburg which were claimed by the Church.

To go back in order to recount the count's misdeeds. In 1453 a Hansatag, which was to have met in Bremen, had to be abandoned, and was afterwards summoned to Lübeck because

the count had made the approaches to Bremen so unsafe that the delegates from other cities refused to undertake so perilous a journey, which caused the count to jeer at the "cowardice of the shopkeepers." In 1454 the Hansatag at Lübeck resolved to put a stop to Count Gerhard's evil deeds. Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock and Stralsund were instructed to seek and destroy the ships from Oldenburg which were preying on the commerce of the Baltic; and Bremen, Hamburg, Stade, Kampen and Deventer were ordered to do similar work in the North Sea, for Count Gerhard had engaged heavily in the pirate business, and had made commercial enterprise as unsafe by sea as he had made it on land. It was at that time that Gerhard's brother Moritz had escaped from the monastery where he had been imprisoned and claimed his patrimony. As we have seen, Bremen and Hoya aided him and were defeated.

In 1470 Gerhard built his castle on the Weser, making it headquarters for his pirates as well as for his plundering raids on land, and, in spite of such numerous, powerful and furious enemies as his brother the King of Denmark, the Hansa, the archbishop and the Frisian princes, he maintained himself for nearly ten years more.

When driven out of his land by a combination of his enemies in 1472, he fled to Charles the Bold and begged his aid, and succeeded in making an alliance with him which enabled him to return peaceably to Oldenburg. In 1476, however, he was again at war with Bremen, and defeated his enemies disastrously in a battle fought among the marshes, where the city's army was surprised and nearly annihilated. So many were the deaths by drowning that the battle has been known as the "Bremen Taufe," or Bremen baptism. After this a peace was patched up—rather an inglorious peace for the archbishop and the city—which was more or less faithfully kept until 1480, when the depredations, both by sea and land, of Count Gerhard, who was now assisted by his nephew the Count of Delmenhorst, once more became unbearable, and the doughty archbishop again took up arms against him, assisted by Lübeck and Hamburg. The stronghold of Delmenhorst was taken, after an investment of three months, and Count Gerhard, who had apparently exhausted his resources, was compelled to make peace, to abdicate in favour of his son, and to leave the country.

For several years this magnificent swashbuckler wandered about Europe, selling his sword to the highest bidder, and finally he died in the South of France in 1499. His less able nephew,

who was banished at the same time, took refuge on one of his ships, and ended his life as a pirate.

Delmenhorst became a part of the archbishop's estate. He was also, as we have seen, bishop of Münster, and when he died that diocese claimed that the place had been captured by troops from Münster, and, consequently, belonged to that diocese and not to Bremen. This claim was admitted, and, though Delmenhorst is almost a suburb of modern Bremen, it belonged to Münster for more than fifty years.

In this last successful war against Oldenburg the city of Bremen had taken no part, because all her energies were needed to carry on a war with the Duke of Saxon Lauenburg.

The weakness of the empire had contributed to the rise in wealth and power of many princes, and was a source of great danger to the independent cities. Brunswick fell into the hands of her ducal namesake. Several Hansatags were held in Lübeck and Bremen, where the situation was anxiously discussed and various plans for mutual defence were suggested. One proposal was that a strong and permanent confederation of sixty-six towns should be formed, all being pledged to assist each other against any attempt to interfere with their liberties; but the day for such things had passed. Many of the cities dared not enter such a union, and the plan fell through.



ARMS OF ARCHBISHOP RODE

In 1496 Archbishop Heinrich died, and was succeeded by the Dean of Bremen, Johann Rode, son of a citizen of Bremen. There were several candidates, sons of great noblemen, whose claims were so hotly pressed by their partisans that the united chapters were unable to agree, and finally they joined in appointing the dean, a man noted for his piety, learning and modesty, to go as their delegate to lay the matter before the pope. The unexpected result was that the dean himself was made archbishop.

In 1496 Count John of Oldenburg, with a portion of Charles the Bold's famous Black Guard, overran the Frisian lands at the same time that the Duke of Saxon Lauenburg invaded the Wustenland.

This Black Guard was an international body, of evil reputation, which had fought for Philip and Charles of Burgundy in various parts of the Netherlands. It was composed of unscrupulous swashbucklers, soldiers of fortune from many lands—Spain, Germany, England, Scotland, Italy and Morocco—and numbered about six thousand men.

In the midst of these troubles the King of Denmark invaded and tried to annex Dietmarsch.

Archbishop Johann, allied with Bremen and Hamburg, tried to resist the Duke of Lauenburg, who called upon John of Oldenburg with his Black Guard to aid him. They invaded the diocese, but met with such a reception from the irate people that they accepted an invitation to join the Danish army in Dietmarsch, and there, in a battle with the warlike peasants, at Hemmingstadt, February 17, 1500, they perished almost to the last man.

The Lauenburg army marched into Wustenland, where it was met and defeated by an army of peasants, which included a large number of women, the whole army being commanded by a peasant woman.

This time of stress seemed to the nobles of the diocese to be suitable for them to refuse to serve under the archbishop because he was not of noble birth. On both sides his family belonged to the oldest, richest and best educated of Bremen patricians. His father and grandfather had been senators, but in the eyes of these diocesan barons he was only a shopkeeper.

The archbishop, with his lands invaded on every side, their natural, paid protectors in mutiny, and he himself an old man, acquired the Duke of Brunswick as an ally by appointing that monarch's twelve-year-old son as coadjutor with the right of succession.

The young bishop's father at once took up arms, and Lauenburg was obliged to make peace, after which Oldenburg was taken in hand and driven out of his newly-acquired territory.

Archbishop Johann died in 1512, and was succeeded by the young Christopher, who was also bishop of Verden. He was haughty, arrogant and so cruel and unprincipled as to be remarkable even in those days. His character was known, as he had been coadjutor for more than ten years, so the city strengthened her defences and the marsh-land peasants prepared for trouble.

CHAPTER XVII

BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION

IN January 1514 the various chiefs of the houses of Brunswick and Lüneburg and Count John of Oldenburg met at Bremen, and soon after led an expedition across the frozen Weser to Stadtland and Budjadingen, which they conquered. The latter was then sold to Oldenburg, who also leased Stadtland from Brunswick. It is difficult to understand why the city showed no sign of alarm and made no protest when she saw this transfer of lands, between herself and the sea and on both banks of the river, to other and stronger powers, although for centuries it had been her well-known policy to fight any and every one who tried to meddle with them.

In 1517 the archbishop invaded the lands of Würsten, at the mouth of the Weser to the east, and after a long struggle subjugated the people. Then he thought the time had come to follow the instructions of his predecessor, Johann Rode, the archbishop of Bremen, who had been a native of that city. He had left a paper of instructions which contained these words: "Read and read again the privileges of the Bremen Church. Study the treaties, the conventions and the records from the earliest times until to-day, and you will find that from the beginning that Church has had no greater persecutors or enemies than the citizens of Bremen, who have pursued her with unquenchable hate. There is but one hope for freedom and peace for the Church in Bremen, and that lies in the complete overthrow of the people. After that the land will have rest. Then and not till then shall there be one shepherd and one hearth." This referred, of course, to the senate or government and not to the citizens, and the new archbishop fully agreed with it. He was willing to use every possible means to bring about so desirable a condition, but he was too late. All Germany was throbbing with the new life of the Reformation, and the day of the temporal supremacy of the princes of the Church was nearly over.

In 1522 Heinrich von Zütphen began to preach the doctrines of Dr. Martin Luther in Bremen. There must have been many in the city who had read and been impressed by Luther's writings, for Zütphen was given the great church of St. Ansgar to preach in, despite the angry protests of the archbishop. Then



BREMEN
IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

the city refused to deliver Zütphen to the emissaries of Margaret of Parma, who demanded his extradition as a heretic. The archbishop gathered his troops together under a notorious soldier of fortune, one Hans von Halberstadt, with the hope of capturing the city, and he planned, with that object in view, to throw a strong garrison into the monastery of St. Paul without the walls, which stood close to the Osterthor.

Rumours of this plan reached the senate, and the citizens, who had no reason to love his Grace, gathered in great numbers in the market-place, and, marching out, attacked and utterly destroyed the monastery, so that when the archbishop arrived the next day he found only a few ruined walls. Nevertheless his troops surrounded the city and committed many excesses, ravaging the country round about before they left.

The Reformation seems to have begun in Bremen with a demand, made by the people, that the clergy should no longer be exempt from taxation as they had hitherto been, and that, like laymen, they should have to take their turns in doing military service for the city. Before this had been agreed to, Heinrich von Zütphen arrived and began to teach the spiritual and religious side of the Reformation. An enthusiastic disciple of Luther, he produced an immediate and lasting impression on the people, and with his daily sermons in St. Ansgar's Church began a revival which deeply affected the whole population of all classes.

Zütphen stayed two years in Bremen, and then went to preach the rediscovered truths to the peasants of Dietmarsch. He had the misfortune on his way to pass near Meldorf Abbey, a stronghold of the Dominicans, who captured him, horribly tortured him and then burned him to death.

This terrible tragedy had the effect of exciting great enthusiasm for the Lutheran doctrines among the people of Bremen, and was used with skill by the only Lutheran preacher left in that city, one Jakob Probst, who was a warm personal friend of Luther, as he had also been of the martyr von Zütphen.

By 1525 there were Lutheran preachers in St. Martin's, St. Mary's, St. Rembert's and St. Stephen's, as well as St. Ansgar's, and in all those churches the services were conducted in German instead of in Latin. The cathedral and the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries alone continued to be loyal to Rome.

In January 1526 the archbishop captured Johann Bornemacher, preacher at St. Rembert's, as he was passing through Verden

on his return from a visit to Luther, and burned him at the stake. Immediately after he marched against Bremen, ravaged the country, burned many villages and lifted many cattle. The city and the archbishop both lodged complaints with the emperor. Charles V. was then in Spain, and he was engaged in a struggle with the pope, who was leaning towards France. Consequently the replies received were evasive and undecided, but on the whole favourable to the city.

By this time a large majority of the senate was Lutheran, and, in compliance with Luther's advice, proceeded to found a high-school in the old convent of St. Catherine, bringing numerous teachers from other parts of Germany, and endowing it with the revenues of the ancient hospice of St. Gertrude. The new rector or head of this school was Dr. Johann Oldenburg, from Münster. He was a prominent figure in Bremen for more than thirty years.

Dr. Johann van de Wyck, another importation, was elected syndic by the senate in 1528, and proved to be an able diplomatist and learned lawyer, of inestimable service to the city in those perilous times. He was a profound scholar, who was among the first to become convinced of the truth of Luther's teaching, and afterwards devoted his great abilities to the Protestant cause.

In 1529 Charles V., having made his peace with the pope, ceased his dalliance with the Lutherans and came out strongly against them at Speyer. The reformed princes made their famous "protest," and the Archbishop of Bremen took advantage of the change once more to make his charges against the city. This time he obtained his wish. Bremen was ordered to rebuild the monastery of St. Paul, to restore all the dismissed priests and monks, to dismiss all the preachers and teachers of the new doctrines, and to submit to the archbishop.

The city's reply to this mandate was the imposition of a fine of five marks for attending Mass—so general had been the effect of the new teaching.

This mild beginning of persecution is supposed to have been inspired by the Duke of Lüneburg, who visited Bremen about that time, and who was as fanatically Protestant as the Duke of Brunswick, the archbishop's brother, was fanatically Roman. Bremen also declared her adhesion to the views of the protesting princes and cities.

Soon after this, in September 1529, as the Syndic von der Wyck and the secretary of the senate were journeying to Lüne-

burg, they were captured and taken to Verden, all their papers being taken from them. On hearing of this the city closed its gates and threw the chapter of the cathedral into prison, holding them as hostages. This prompt action and the urgent appeal of the hostages induced the archbishop to release his prisoners, though he had meant to burn them, as he had burned so many heretics before.

The city then appealed to the empire, relating many of the archbishop's misdeeds, as well as those of his relatives, and begging to be entirely relieved from his jurisdiction and formally constituted a free city of the empire—a demand which was not granted until a century later. At the same time Bremen applied to be admitted as a member of the confederation of princes and cities holding the evangelical faith.

This revolution in all the relations of the people with the Church and the empire very naturally extended itself to local politics. There was much unrest among the people. This was first shown in a general belief that the common land lying without the walls had been greatly encroached upon by private individuals with adjoining estates. A demand was consequently made that all documents relating to the common lands should be translated from Latin into Platt—or low—German and made accessible to every one, and that all holders of lands bordering on the commons must show deeds dating before 1159 or surrender their lands. This was followed by the demand for a popularly elected town council, or lower house, to act with the senate, and with them to control the municipal finances. Also that none but members of the Protestant community should be eligible for office, and that all priests and monks should be subject to the same civic laws as the laymen—paying rates, working on the fortifications and liable to military service. The first leader of this movement, an alderman of the merchants' guild named Swanecke, was arrested and condemned to death, a sentence which was commuted to perpetual banishment. A goldsmith named Dove then became leader. He was a self-seeking demagogue, quite inferior to Swanecke, who seems to have really had the interests of the people at heart, though he perhaps gave too much importance to the question of the common lands.

There was a chapter of the Teutonic knights in Bremen, at the head of which stood Rudolf von Bardewisch. He was supposed to have—among the archives of the order—some documents which would throw light upon the land question, and Dove and



RÁTHAUS, STATUE OF ROLAND, AND MARKET, BREMEN.



his followers demanded that these should be produced. The comthur, as Bardewisch was called, answered that it was possible that such parchments might exist and he would have the archives examined.

Dove translated this reply to the people as an admission that the comthur held valuable documents rightfully belonging to the people.

No such documents were produced, and the mob was dexterously worked up to fierce anger against the comthur. When the rather feeble senate tried to interfere it was accused of trying to protect the unjust occupiers of the people's lands.

On May 10, Bardewisch went to church, but, being warned that he was in danger, decided to leave the city until the storm had blown over. He was actually outside the gates, when he remembered that his mother and sister, who were his guests in the castle of the Teutonic order, a fortified house near the Osterthor, might be alarmed if left alone. So he returned and entrenched himself. A mob had gathered in the market-place. Egged on by the speeches of Dove and others, they stormed the Rathaus, where they found the mother and sister of the comthur begging for protection from the powerless senate. After a noisy, angry scene the crowd withdrew and rushed for the house of the knights. Armed with all sorts of weapons, they attacked it. The comthur and his servants, instead of standing siege and making a defence, escaped from the house and took refuge in an adjoining chapel, from whence he tried to parley with the people, but was received with a volley of bullets. Van der Wyck, at the head of the entire senate, marched to the Doms-haide and tried to quell the riot, but they were too late to stop the mischief. Cannon were brought, the senators were abusively driven away with curses and stones; the chapel was stormed and taken, and the unfortunate comthur and his servants were killed and their bodies were thrown out to the howling mob, who then plundered the house and chapel. Then the crowd dispersed, but rioting was resumed at the funeral of the murdered knight the next day, and the senators were threatened with the same fate.

Dove carried matters with a high hand, and forced the senate to agree to appoint a popular commission of 104 men to settle all questions in dispute. He also demanded and received a pardon for the actual murderer of the comthur and for all who had taken part in the riots. Pressure from all parts of Germany, on the other hand, compelled the senate to pay an indemnity of 1000 gold guldens to the comthur's heirs.

The 104 forced the cathedral chapter to surrender, without compensation, all of their meadow lands, threatening them with the fate of the comthur if they refused.

The 104 also instigated a further riot, leading the mob in storming the Rathaus once more, to compel the senate to revoke the sentence of banishment against Swanecke, whom they then conducted to his home in triumph.

Dove, who had been chosen president of the 104, conducted his business with the senate entirely by means of threats of the same fate as that of the comthur. By this dangerous policy of bullying he succeeded in usurping all the functions of government. Through them he abolished old laws, withdrew time-honoured privileges and confiscated the revenues of the guilds. January 30, 1532, when the senate and the aldermen of the merchants' guild were conferring together, they were assailed in the Rathaus by a furious mob bent on massacre, and they only escaped by a timely quarrel between the leaders of the mob.

A fortnight later Dove once more called the people together, and decreed the confiscation of all property, real and personal, belonging to the guild of merchants. The guild hall¹ was stormed and all the valuable gold and silver plate, furniture, pictures, records and other articles of value were carted to Dove's house. Dove also attacked the great business houses of the city, accusing them of monopolizing trade and crushing out the individual traders. The great commercial houses of Augsburg and Nuremberg were accused of causing the rise in prices which had recently taken place. People like the Fuggers and the Welsers were denounced as enemies of the people, and the leading merchants of Bremen were declared to be their accomplices.

No one was allowed to ship more than ten loads of corn in one year, so that all wholesale trade might be stopped and every small dealer have a chance. None but citizens of Bremen were to have any part in loading, unloading, shipping, transport or export of grain or wood, by water or land. None but Bremen ships might be used.

In spite of the protests of the senate, these laws were enacted and published.

At this time, when the 104 had everything their own way, the Lutheran clergy, with Dr. Probst as their mouthpiece, met them by appointment at the church of St. Martin. Dove addressed

¹ This is the fine building now known as the Schütting, facing the Rathaus across the market-place.

them, telling of all the good he had done and still meant to do; but Probst replied with a scathing denunciation, declaring that the 104 had been conceived in riot and born in blood; that they were the enemies of God and man; that they were a band of thieves and swindlers, and that he and all the clergy present should never cease denouncing them from their pulpits and elsewhere.

Dove and his followers were furious; but they dared not do bodily harm to these greatly respected clergymen, who were the first openly to defy them. They revenged themselves by taking each minister in turn and compelling him to preach in the cathedral which still legally belonged to the Roman clergy. The dean was the only priest left in Bremen, and he was obliged to run away.

The madness of the popular party increased to such a pitch that they could brook no opposition. They plotted to kill the burgomasters and all of the senators who had not yielded at once to every demand of the 104. This massacre, which was to have taken place at a conference which the senate had been bidden to attend on the Monday, was prevented by the confession of two of the conspirators on the Sunday. The burgomasters who were under surveillance and most of the senators managed to escape by various means. Burgomaster van Buren, wearing dressing-gown and slippers, strolled without the walls with his grandchild and her nurse. A swift horse had been concealed in a neighbouring thicket, and, accoutred as he was, he mounted and rode to safety. Burgomaster Heyenburg quietly walked away, taking neither attendant nor luggage. Several of the senators attended a wedding-feast, from which, after dark, they escaped down the river in a small skiff.

From their safe retreat in the castle of Bederkesa, where they had assembled, the senate for five months carried on its war of words with the 104. The people of the city had been much excited by the flight of the senate and were divided now into two parties, with a good many still undecided.

For several months the city was constantly the scene of rioting and tumult, during which time the popularity of the 104 was on the wane. A rumour (which may have been originated by the partisans of the absent senators) stated that Dove and his friends were in treaty with the archbishop and meant to hand the city over to him. This created such indignation that Dove had to escape in disguise. The rest of the 104, however, still reigned, and he soon came back, as defiant as ever.

Matters progressed very slowly, and the burgomasters plotted to take the city by stratagem. They sent a number of peasants, who were faithful to them, and fifty soldiers, all of whom entered the city by twos and threes and waited until the signal was given. The guild of boatmen had always been opposed to the 104, and was included in the plot. A mass meeting of the citizens was called for August 29, and around those who attended, on the outside of the throng, the conspirators placed themselves. Dove and the 104 were there, as were some messengers from the senate, including a Captain Woldeken. A letter from the chief burgomaster was read, after which Captain Woldeken made a stirring speech, concluding with the statement that it was high time for the present state of things to come to an end, even if it should be necessary to interfere with the sword. The encircling conspirators shouted: "Yes, captain; the sooner the better!" and many in the great crowd joined in the cry.

Dove and the 104 soon saw that they were in the minority, that their game was up, and they submitted. The acts which had been passed during their régime were publicly destroyed, and the revolution had been suppressed without bloodshed.

The burgomasters returned September 5, when Dove and several others were arrested. Some of the 104 had fled. All the old laws were restored, the senate was more absolute than ever, and all citizens were required to swear a fresh oath of allegiance.

Three men were executed for the murder of the comthur and his servants, and after five months' imprisonment Dove was tried and executed. The alderman Swanecke died of plague before he could be arrested, and another of the leaders poisoned himself. Those of the 104 who escaped by flight were never pardoned and died in exile.

Yet the burgomasters had declared that all offences against themselves were pardoned. The execution of the murderers was certainly justified, but the treatment of Dove was a breach of faith. He was formally pardoned for his political sins, and, believing himself safe, he made no attempt to escape. After the first excitement was over he was arrested on a charge of theft, and after lying a long time in prison was tried and executed for taking some silk at the time of the sacking of the merchants' guild hall, from which he had a cloak made. He was also accused of taking certain silver utensils for his own use. These were capital offences, and nominally for these he

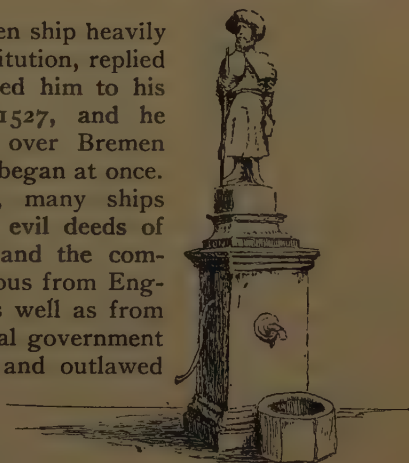
was punished. I do not know what was the excuse for refusing pardon to those offenders who escaped by flight.

The Roman priests connected with the cathedral also returned, and the Church received again most of the confiscated lands. In 1534 a treaty of peace was signed with the archbishop, who received a certain amount of financial compensation, but retained his bitter hatred of the citizens.

From the year 1526 Bremen had been in a constant state of partially suppressed warfare with Balthasar, the ruler of eastern Frisia, who carried on a brisk and profitable business as a pirate.

In 1537 he captured a Bremen ship heavily laden, and when asked for restitution, replied with insults. The city referred him to his written promises given in 1527, and he replied by claiming lordship over Bremen and demanding tribute. War began at once. Many farms were plundered, many ships taken, many lives lost. The evil deeds of Balthasar were so manifold and the complaints of his piracy so numerous from England, France and Portugal, as well as from German cities, that the imperial government listened to Bremen's petition and outlawed Balthasar. In spite of this and of the fact that Bremen, who had joined the Smalkald Union, was assisted by the Protestant princes, the war continued until December

1540, when, after a long beleaguering, the city troops captured the enemy's two most important strongholds, Wittmund and Esen. Balthasar died in the latter shortly before it was captured.



PILGRIM PUMP IN ST. JAMES'S
CHURCHYARD

CHAPTER XVIII

RELIGIOUS WARS

THE next few years were much disturbed throughout Germany, and the emperor finally decided to crush Protestantism by force of arms.

In 1547 he sent an army under General von Croning which devastated the Weser valley, and like the army of Charlemagne, tried to convert the inhabitants by killing them. Tecklenburg, Osnabrück and Minden were taken in succession; and then the army marched on Bremen. They sacked the villages and destroyed the farms along their line of march, and plundered Horn and Schwachausen, which are now pleasant suburbs of the city. The citizens, though shut behind their walls, were not idle. They made many small sorties, occasionally capturing a train of provisions or a few prisoners. The enemy did great damage, and the chronicler describes the archbishop as standing on the castle at Burg gloating over the numerous burning villages and country houses belonging to the city or the citizens.

The city herself was almost surrounded, but still held control of the river by which she could obtain food and send out attacking parties. The enemy tried to bridge the river and thus close it, but the city sent out an expedition which destroyed the bridge just before it was completed.

A great blow to Bremen was the defection of the Count of Oldenburg, who had been her ally. He was bought off by the promise of the county of Delmenhorst, and began his work against the city by capturing an unsuspecting Bremen ship and using it to blockade the city until some Hamburg ships came to the rescue.

On March 27 firing began, but most of the balls fell short of the walls. The next day a sortie was made; the new breastworks intended to command the city were destroyed and several large guns were captured. In order to protect this expedition, which was on the river side of the town, another and simultaneous sortie was made on the opposite side, which resulted in a brisk skirmish in which Bremen lost thirteen killed and forty prisoners, including the leaders of the party; but the imperial losses were much heavier, including the commanding general von Croning, who was killed and taken to Verden, where he was buried in the cathedral.

The command then fell to General Wrisberg, who abandoned the siege and marched away on April 1, having wasted six weeks in this vain attempt to capture the city; but also having plundered and devastated all the villages and the country for miles on every side.

During all the time of this siege the Weser close to the city was so unusually full of fish that throughout the invest-

ment food was cheaper than it had been for years. Herring and smelt were caught by tens of thousands, and under the circumstances Bremen was the only possible market for them. Then, as now, haddock were numerous near the mouth of the river, and salmon were so plentiful that as many as sixty large fish were caught in one day.

Nor were all the energies of the besieged confined to fishing. Carsten Ehlers, for instance, with a band of sailors, made raids sometimes with success, as when they attacked and captured Hagen and Stotel, two castles belonging to noblemen who were enemies of the city. On each occasion large amounts of booty were brought into Bremen.

It was April 2, 1548, when General Wrisberg withdrew his troops, and on the 5th and 6th, news of the taking of Hagen and Stotel reached the city, causing great rejoicing. This was suddenly terminated on the 11th by the unexpected return of Wrisberg, who, having been joined by the Duke of Brunswick with large reinforcements, decided to renew the siege. The duke's army consisted of 29,000 men with many heavy guns and a great number of cavalry.

The city had also received reinforcements, as a fleet had arrived from Hamburg which patrolled the river and also landed a good many men to take part in the defence.

A series of pits, dug at some distance from the walls, with sharp stakes at the bottom, served to discourage the cavalry and keep them at a distance.

However, the new siege only lasted until May 22, at which time news of the invasion of the Duchy of Brunswick by a Protestant army caused the duke to hurriedly withdraw his troops, and Wrisberg followed the next day. The relieving army was led by Count Albert von Mansfeld and Count Christopher von Oldenburg. The duke met them at the Drakenburg, where a battle took place, and the duke's army was cut to pieces, the duke himself escaping with difficulty. Nearly five thousand of his men were killed and about twenty-five hundred captured. Wrisberg, instead of hurrying as he was expected to do, to reinforce his ally, attacked and captured the baggage train and treasure chest of the Protestant army, thus inflicting a severe blow. On the other hand, if he had joined the duke the victory would probably have been theirs. As it was, the Protestants captured the duke's camp and all of his artillery and the imperial army lost, at one stroke, the prestige which, up to that time, had been one of their most

valuable assets. A couplet which became popular in Protestant circles at the time said—

“Wir haben das Feld, Wrisberg das Geld
Wir haben das Land, Wrisberg die Schand.”

The Protestant army fell to pieces almost immediately, since there was no money left with which to pay it; but most of the officers went to Bremen, where a great banquet was given in their honour, as well as to celebrate the raising of the siege and defeat of the enemy.

A considerable number of the disbanded soldiers was taken into the pay of the city, who sent an army out against all the castles in the vicinity which belonged to the archbishop or his allies; and Voerde, Langwedel, Neuhaus and Rothenburg were taken and given to Count Albert von Mansfeld, whose own estate had been confiscated by the emperor.

However, Mansfeld's cruelty in managing his new possessions induced the neighbouring nobles to take up arms against him. He was living in Bremen directing his troops from there, but after suffering a severe defeat he surrendered his castles and lands for a sum of money—said to have been 26,000 thalers—and retired to Bückeburg.

Bremen, being one of the few cities which had successfully defied the emperor, now expected him to avenge himself since he had defeated her allies the Protestant princes. But undismayed, she went vigorously to work to strengthen her defences. Her citizens worked night and day at the fortifications, great pans of burning pitch enabling them to see at night.

Two men whose names stand out among those who took prominent parts in the reformation in Germany are van Wyck and van Buren, both of Dutch descent. We have already heard of the former, but he took no part in these more recent struggles because his career had come to an unhappy close several years before. When fleeing from the fanatical Anabaptists under John of Leyden at Münster, he had fallen into the clutches of the fanatical priests at Fürstenau, who (although he was one of the most distinguished and most learned men of the time, and syndic of both Bremen and Münster as well as the recognized ambassador of the Duke of Lüneburg) beheaded him with glee before any of his friends knew he was in danger.

Daniel van Buren II. entered the senate of Bremen when his father resigned the post of burgomaster. The young

man, who was then but twenty-six, had studied for seven years at Wittenberg under Luther and Melancthon.

In 1540 he went as ambassador to Worms, and in 1541 in the same capacity to Ratisbon, returning both times triumphant, having defeated all the plots of the archbishop. In 1546, when Bremen was fighting for her life, at van Buren's advice she sold the vast treasures of silver, gold and jewels belonging to the churches, and spent the money received for them for the defence of the city.

After the battle of Drakenburg in 1548 the emperor was very angry, and despite the efforts made by the Hanseatic envoys, he in 1549 called upon the neighbouring towns to suspend all friendly intercourse with Bremen, at the same time revoking all of that city's privileges and confiscating such of her property as he could lay his hands on. In 1550 the Reichstag, then assembled at Augsburg, summoned Bremen to appear before it. Before complying, the senate sent a protest against the emperor's treatment, and a petition that nothing should be required of her inconsistent with her honour and freedom, or with her faithful adherence to the true Christian religion in accordance with the Augsburg confession.

At Augsburg the city's representatives met with a more friendly reception than they had expected. Nevertheless they were asked to sign a document the stipulations in which were very severe and which, consequently, they refused to sign; so after much useless discussion the Reichstag adjourned, and the envoys returned to Bremen.

In 1551 Charles V. again issued an edict against the city, making the conditions upon which he would consent to receive her submission still more onerous.

The senate sent a statement of their case to the elector Moritz of Saxony, who had already shown his friendliness, and who was about to recommence his active opposition to the emperor. The matter dragged along until 1553, when Bremen petitioned Queen Mary, the emperor's sister, to help them. She really interested herself, and succeeded in getting much better terms, so that in the autumn of 1554 the emperor finally withdrew his interdict and the city was once more at peace, with her religion according to the Augsburg confession legally secured by the treaty of 1555, by which that religion was recognized all over the empire.

CHAPTER XIX

LUTHERAN INTOLERANCE

SCARCELY was this settled, however, before the new Church sought to imitate the Church of Rome by claiming a monopoly. It seems to be invariably the case that priests, when they feel they have a state behind them, become intolerant, overbearing and pharisaical, whether Memphis, Babylon, Thibet, Mexico, Rome or Augsburg be the civil power. In Bremen Dr. Hardenberg, preacher at the cathedral which was now partly under Protestant control, was a gentle, kindly man, who advocated liberty of conscience and who himself felt uncertain as to the doctrine of the real presence as taught by the orthodox Lutherans. The other clergy in Bremen worked themselves and many of the leading laity into a frenzy over this, and finally succeeded in driving Hardenberg from the city.

Daniel van Buren II., already referred to, was burgomaster at the time, and he and a few others among the senators sympathized with Hardenberg and favoured toleration. This enraged the clerical party, who, after many irritating actions, tried to eject van Buren and his friends from the senate and the city, accusing them of heresy and anabaptist errors. Van Buren, who had borne opposition, abuse, persecution and calumny, at length found that he must see his beloved Bremen handed over to clerical misrule or act promptly.

He suddenly appealed to the people, who had a great belief in his wisdom and learning. This he did January 9, 1562, when his term as chief burgomaster—or president—was to begin.

The majority of the senate favoured the clergy, and passed a resolution ordering van Buren and his friend, Senator Brand, to sign a declaration that, during their period of office, they would take no part in any of the duties of the senate having to do with religion.

Van Buren answered that he would be no half burgomaster, but meant to be a whole one. Thereupon the majority of the senate, defying the constitution, refused to permit van Buren and Brand to take the oath.

For ten days the people were wildly excited, the clergy fomented the trouble, and, although the archbishop and the diocesan nobles tried to make peace, the excitement became greater.

On the 19th van Buren, accompanied by a throng of influential citizens, entered the Rathaus and demanded that the oath of office should be administered. The senate refused at first, but finally, overawed by the hostile throng of citizens of the better class, yielded, and van Buren and Brand were sworn in as first and second burgomasters.

The former, being now in power as executive, at once ordered the recall of a mandate which had been issued exiling himself and all others who differed from the clerical party. The clergy were then ordered to abstain from personal denunciation in their pulpits, and the two who were most violent and who refused to obey this order were at once banished. The personal orders of the late burgomaster, banishing Senator Vassmer and the Rev. Dr. Gravestein for nonconformity were rescinded; after which a general amnesty was proclaimed for all who had been condemned by the clericals for conscience' sake.

The clergy, furious at these proceedings, denounced van Buren from their pulpits and called upon the people to disobey his orders, because they were "unchristian" and "devilish." They were all, with the exception of Gravestein, promptly deprived of their livings; successors being drawn from the faculty of Wittemberg whose orthodoxy was unquestioned, but who were ready and willing to preach Christianity, as interpreted by Augsburg, in a Christian manner.

The majority of the senate had been forced to submit, but now, urged by the banished clergy, they seceded, and, led by the two junior burgomasters, left Bremen, in March, accompanied by their families and a few other citizens, about one hundred in all, and from a safe distance began a campaign of vituperation.

To be brief, this continued for more than six years. The exiles were backed by the local Lutheran synod, by the Count of Delmenhorst and other neighbouring nobles, and by Lübeck and several other Hanse towns, which were at that time wholly in the hands of the narrow bigoted party in the Lutheran Church.

Curiously enough, the most useful and powerful friend of the liberal citizens at this juncture was Archbishop George, a Roman Catholic. He was the feudal lord of Bremen, and a prince of the empire. During the six years of strife he stood loyally by van Buren and the cause of liberalism in religion. When, urged by the fanatics, the emperor twice issued mandates against van Buren the archbishop intervened,

claimed his rights as overlord and protested so energetically against the interference of the emperor in matters in which he, the archbishop, claimed to be the final court of appeal, that the imperial edicts were revoked.

All Germany was appealed to. Some parts by one side, some by the other. All the leading lawyers of the empire were engaged by one side or the other.

Van Buren and his four senators found the government business too much for them, and, after four years, decided to elect new senators in the places of those who had banished themselves.

Thus, for the third time in her history, Bremen found herself involved in a controversy between a new senate and an exiled old senate. This time, however, the wisdom, learning, moderation and technical legality were all with the new senate, and that it was which won. The exiles, confident of success, denounced van Buren and his adherents as Anabaptists, Calvinists and Zwinglians. They induced Lübeck, Dantzic and Brunswick, which were then in the hands of the narrowest and bitterest of sectarians, to declare the expulsion of Bremen from the League. Bremen promptly sent her protests broadcast, and most countries and cities refused to obey the order issued by the shade of the once powerful League; especially as the emperor resented this action of the Hansa, and regarded it as an interference with his prerogative. He issued an edict placing Bremen and her citizens under imperial protection. It was evident that of the power, arrogance and independence of the great League only the arrogance remained.

The Emperor Ferdinand died in July 1564. Archbishop George died in December 1566, and was succeeded by a lad of sixteen, a son of the Duke of Lauenburg. The Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the champion and protector of unorthodox Protestants, died March 1567.

These three deaths revived the hopes of the exiles, whose plans had always been wrecked by one or the other of those powerful princes. However, the imperial commission appointed to settle the Bremen questions, met in Verden and gave its decision March 3, 1568. Van Buren was recognized as legal chief burgomaster and all of his claims were admitted, he having wisely withdrawn a claim for consequential damages. The exiles were permitted to return, not, however, to resume their offices unless they should be re-elected to fill them, after taking an oath of allegiance. There were two exceptions to this general amnesty, viz, the city captain, von Hildesheim,

and a poetaster named Louwe, who had been so bitter and unbridled in their slander and calumny, that van Buren said he could not undertake to guarantee their safety from violence at the hands of the justly indignant citizens should they return, so their banishment was made perpetual.

The commissioners at Verden called upon the representatives of the city and the exiles to shake hands, which they accordingly did, very solemnly, with tears in the eyes of many of them. And so peace was made; most of the exiles returned at once, but three steadfast senators refused to be pardoned and settled down elsewhere.

Daniel van Buren lived for twenty-five years after this triumph, and was easily the greatest and most influential man in Bremen. He used his great influence to promote a spirit of liberality and freedom in the Church, and as long as he lived liberty of conscience was allowed, though most of the citizens were members of the liberal wing of the Lutherans.

In 1581 he brought Perzelius back to Bremen, where for many years his influence controlled the religious thought of the people. He succeeded Dr. Glanäus as preacher at St. Ansgar's. The liberality of his views excited widespread alarm among Lutherans, and protests against him were sent to the senate from such leaders as the King of Denmark, the Bishop of Lübeck, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and the Duke of Brunswick, all Protestant princes of weight. No disaster, however, followed these protests, and Perzelius continued his work in Bremen.

During the last twenty years of the sixteenth century no act of war took place, but the history of Bremen was a long series of theological squabbles and discussions between Lutheran



princes and the city, and bickerings with Oldenburg. Archbishop Henry died at the age of thirty-five and was succeeded by Johann Adolf, of the Holstein ducal family, who was but eleven years old. By his election he became a prince of the empire, but the ecclesiastical functions of the archbishopric were now performed by a superintendent, to which position Perzelius was chosen in 1584.

Under the enlightened guidance of van Buren, Dr. Eurick and Perzelius the schools were vastly improved and the life of the city both spiritual and physical widened and improved. Dr. Eurick advocated sanitation and cleanliness as a safeguard against plague, and wrote a most advanced and modern book against the prosecutions for witchcraft, which were then so frequent. This book had such an effect that only one such prosecution took



SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY
COSTUMES

place in Bremen after its publication.

Van Buren died in 1593, five years after the death of his friend Eurick. Bremen has never had citizens of greater worth, or any who have more faithfully or successfully served her.

CHAPTER XX

TROUBLES WITH ENGLAND

DURING the last twenty years of the century the trade of all Germany was seriously affected by the war between Spain and the Netherlands.

More than once did the fanatical Romanist seek to form an alliance with the Protestant Hanse towns, and in spite of their sympathy with the Netherlands, Bremen merchants and Bremen ships were more than once in Spanish pay. Once, indeed, the States General blockaded the mouth of the Weser and took charge of all incoming vessels and their cargoes until Bremen was able to equip a fleet strong enough to drive the Dutch away.

One result of the weakness of the empire and of the long war between the Netherlands and Spain was the renewal of piracy in the North Sea. The coasts swarmed with freebooters who were more or less openly protected by Oldenburg.

Bremen lost many ships with their cargoes, and was at great expense to protect her trade. Sometimes defeated, she was oftener successful, and we read of as many as thirty-four pirates being executed in Bremen in one day, which was naturally discouraging to the pirates.

It was at this time, when Germany and the Netherlands were distracted by foreign wars and internal strife, when Oldenburg fostered pirates that they might prey upon Bremen, when Lübeck was struggling with the kingdom of Denmark, that the English suddenly appeared on the scene, demanding their share of the world's

commerce. English ships forced their way to every sea. Drake and his fellows had successfully defied the arrogant Spaniards; the Dutch were struggling for their lives, and the Hansa had become a mere shadow of itself. English companies succeeded in establishing themselves in Stade and Hamburg, as the Hansa had



THE STEELYARD IN LONDON

formerly planted itself in England, in London and Lynn. Hamburg, seeing her own profit in this, welcomed the foreigners. Lübeck and Bremen were indignant, furious, but powerless to prevent. The Bremen representatives at the Hansatag in Lübeck in 1587 wrote: "The English have drained all Germany, our beloved fatherland, of gold and goods. They are sucking the life out of us," and Mr. Parkins, the English ambassador, wrote to the same Hansatag, which had shown itself to be anti-English: "There is only a miserable remnant left of your once great confederacy. Where is your head, where your limbs, where your life? You know better than any one that the few remaining portions of your

union are ready to fall apart." The emperor appealed to Elizabeth to restore the Hansa to its privileges in England, and to restrain the merchant adventurers, but she did neither; so in August 1597 an imperial edict was promulgated against those adventurers in Germany. Elizabeth's energetic reply was an order from the State to the Hansa to vacate the steelyard which they had owned and occupied for several centuries in London. They were given a fortnight to pack up and pack off.

The Hansa retaliated by ordering a boycott of all English goods, and forbidding all trade with England. But the power of the League to enforce its mandates was gone, and few if any paid any attention to its orders. The English ships were ready and anxious to take any of the carrying trade that fell in their way. Each city was trying to look out for herself. Hamburg continued to harbour the merchant adventurers, and Bremen extended her trade with England in so shameless a manner that Lübeck protested wildly, but in vain. The Hansa was practically dead, and the English had come to stay.

Bremen has never been famous as an art centre or, to any marked degree, as a patron of the arts; but at this period there was a fine taste for architecture, and a great architect, Lüder von Berthelm, built numerous fine houses. Among the striking examples of his work which still survive are the weigh-house and the corn-house in the Langenstrasse, several of the more interesting gabled houses on the market-place, and the beautiful renaissance façade of the old gothic Rathaus.

In 1590 Archbishop Johann Adolf inherited the duchy of Gottorp, whereupon he transferred the archbishopric to his younger brother Johann Friedrich.

In August 1602 an English embassy arrived in Bremen as a neutral point where they could meet the ambassadors from Denmark, to settle the questions then in dispute between the two countries. The business was long and tedious; for we learn that the English envoys were not at liberty to meet the representatives of the emperor and the Hansa for the purpose of discussing the position of Germans in England until March 1603.

The Hanseatic representatives found the English were fully aware of their weakness, and that they bluntly refused to consider the possibility of a renewal of the old privileges. The granting of other and less advantageous arrangements was under consideration when the news arrived of the death of Queen Elizabeth. The German ambassadors, hoping for better terms

from King James, broke off the negotiations, declaring that the English ambassadors were no longer competent.

It was decided to send a strong embassy from the League to congratulate James on his accession and at the same time



GUILD HALL IN BREMEN

endeavour, while in London, to obtain better terms from the new sovereign. Things moved slowly in those days, for it was the Hansatag which met in Lübeck in March 1604 that selected two men each from Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Cologne and Dantzic, with Krefting of Bremen as the leader, to go to England to congratulate the King and try to get the privileges

renewed. Then to go to Brussels to try to induce Spain to remove the new and heavy duty on all German goods. Finally to go to France to try to induce Henry IV. to renew several ancient privileges which had recently been withdrawn.

In England this roving body of ambassadors tried their old style of haughty superiority. They claimed, as a right under old treaties, equality with English merchants in England, the abolition of recent taxes and port dues, etc., and the restoration of the steelyards in London and Lynn. For all this they offered nothing at all. They felt their own superiority and expected the English to recognize it; but as a last resource they were authorized to grant a limited number of Englishmen the privilege of residing in one of the Hanse towns, but without the privilege of trading, except to merchants or factors in that town. The preposterous and blind pride of these instructions is better realized when one recalls the fact that two at least of the Hanse towns—Hamburg and Stade—had already admitted Englishmen to reside in them and to trade as they pleased.

The embassy had audience of King James on August 4, but did not receive his reply until September 28, 1604. He thanked them for their congratulations, and refused all of their demands. The answer was definite, and it was plain that the old order of privileged trade was at an end. It was a long time before England again opened her doors to foreign trade at the expense of her own trade.

The Hanseatic merchants found themselves reduced to trading with merchants of other nations on terms of equality, and they proved to be unable to do so; and it was nearly three hundred years before Germans again took the prominent part in the world's commerce which had been theirs in the Middle Ages.

The embassy was more fortunate in France where, for a short time, their privileges were renewed. But Russia had destroyed Novgorod and ejected the Hanseatic merchants. The monopolies at Bergen and Schonen had ceased to exist, and although a treaty was agreed upon with Spain which was satisfactory to the Germans, it was never ratified by the Spanish Government.

During the next few years Kräfting, who was the life and soul of Bremen at that time, worked constantly for a reconstitution of the Hansa, or at least an offensive and defensive alliance of towns. He at one time got so far as to have an agreement drawn up to be signed by six contracting cities. The seal of Bremen had already been solemnly affixed in the presence of the

representatives gathered at Hamburg, when Hamburg hesitated, and then refused to sign. Kräfting, who was of a fiery disposition, furiously tore the newly affixed seal of Bremen from the document and at once left the room and the city.

Later an agreement was reached, but theological questions arose, and Bremen once more found herself isolated. In the midst of these squalls which preceded the coming storm Kräfting died August 1611 of the plague, which visited Bremen that year. His portrait, said to be the oldest authenticated portrait in Bremen, is in the Museum Club, dated 1609. It was under his rule as burgomaster, and doubtless owing to him, that Lüder von Bentheim began, 1609, the addition of the façade to the Rathaus. It was not finished until 1612, when Kräfting was dead. Perhaps it is the most perfect work of its kind in existence.

CHAPTER XXI

BEGINNING OF MODERN HISTORY

MODERN history may be said to begin with the seventeenth century, and Bremen then ceases to be a mediæval city. Of her modern history a very brief description or summary must suffice.

The religious activity during the period last described resulted in the majority of the citizens abandoning Lutheranism and becoming Calvinists, with a fine bitter hatred of all others who called themselves Christians, but especially the Lutherans. For many years no Lutheran was elected to the senate, or was allowed to take part in public work, though there was no written law to that effect. The



ARMS OF BREMEN

last Lutheran senator died in 1689, and a Lutheran was not again elected until 1802. In Lübeck, on the other hand, Lutheranism prevailed, and Calvinists were forbidden by law to meet for worship, and the few members of the Reformed Church were obliged to meet, more or less by stealth, in a house purchased by the Landgrave of Hesse, a Reformed

prince, which, as the residence of his ambassador, was outside the local laws.

In 1638 the archbishop, who was a Lutheran, restored the Lutheran services in the cathedral in Bremen, which was under his jurisdiction. There had been no Lutheran service in Bremen for a long time before that.

Early in the seventeenth century plans were made by von Valckenberg, a distinguished engineer who had fortified several towns in the Netherlands, as well as the city of Ulm, for improving the fortifications and defences and for extending them on the left bank of the river so as to include a large space in which the Neustadt was to be built. On account of their great cost these works were not completed until after the Thirty Years' War had closed, and the additional enclosed space was very slowly built upon; the influx of fugitives from those parts of Germany which had suffered most from the war being far less than was expected. A plan of the city published in 1664 shows that hardly one third of the space, enclosed by the Neustadt walls, had then been built upon. It was not until that year, 1664, that the walls were completed and the whole city, on both sides of the river, encircled by fortifications.

Bremen with, perhaps, twenty thousand inhabitants, found it difficult to provide the necessary money to pay for these extensive works, yet she was compelled to build a new harbour at the same time. The river near the city had become unnavigable, owing to the constantly forming sandbanks. The larger ships—often of two hundred tons—were obliged to anchor far down the river, or to tie up in harbours belonging to Oldenburg, with whom Bremen was not often on friendly terms.

In 1545 the House Seefahrt was founded. It was a kind of joint guild, or friendly society, composed of shipowners, merchants and sea captains. Its duties were to look after the maritime interests of Bremen and to provide a safe harbour, or home, for aged seafarers and for the widows and orphans of sailors. It is still a flourishing society, and its annual banquet is one of the most curious and interesting survivals in modern Bremen. This guild urged the necessity of constructing a good harbour at Vegesack, twelve miles below the city, where there was a large, deep pool in the river. The guild was so much in earnest that it provided about a quarter of the requisite money. The work was begun in 1618, the year the Thirty Years' War began, and was completed in three years. For nearly a century this new harbour sufficed for the require-

ments of Bremen, and was a source of large profit to the city and to the House Seefahrt.

January 27, 1637, the southern tower of the cathedral, in which there were eight bells and a clock, fell suddenly, making a frightful noise and crushing two houses and eight people. On February 4, 1656, in the midst of a heavy snowstorm, the remaining tower was struck by lightning and destroyed. These towers were not restored until about two hundred and fifty years later.

In 1621 the teachers at the gymnasium founded a public library, which was placed in charge of Professor Hahnewinkel. In 1646 the senate, for thirteen hundred marks, bought the collection of books belonging to Professor Goldast and added it to the public library. From that time the senate took great interest in the library, which was placed under the direct care of the burgomaster, with two paid librarians. Books were purchased with public funds, and the noble collection now existing is the result of nearly three hundred years of intelligent care.

In 1660 Bremen was at last formally recognized by the emperor as a free city of the empire.

For a great many years Bremen had a quarrel with Oldenburg over the freedom of the Weser. The count built strongholds on the river bank and enforced tolls from passing vessels. From the very dawning of her history the city had insisted upon the freedom of navigation as necessary to her existence, and had compelled the archbishops, the counts, the dukes—whoever had claims upon the river banks—to sign treaties forbidding the erection of strongholds between the city and the sea. But times were changed, and Oldenburg now built her castles and enforced her tribute. The city, instead of sending armies and fleets to destroy the objectionable strongholds, brought suits in the imperial courts and used every peaceful method she could devise to influence the judges, the electors, the emperors. There is little reason to doubt that most of these great personages accepted bribes from both sides. After many years of struggle Oldenburg won the suit which had dragged along for a lifetime, and for two centuries all ships passing up or down the river paid toll to Oldenburg.

According to Dr. von Bippen this struggle, which went on during the whole period of the Thirty Years' War, was the reason why Bremen never took either side very strongly in that war. The toll question was, to her mind, far more im-

portant than any other, and she would promise, and give, aid to either party that offered to assist her in gaining her suit.

So she kept behind her walls, and though the diocese or province was frequently invaded and devastated by the armies of both sides, the city, which was now independent of the archbishop and a free city of the empire, in fact if not yet so in law, was not captured; she suffered from famine, pestilence, and almost complete cessation of trade, but not otherwise.

During the Thirty Years' War Denmark made strenuous efforts to extend her boundaries on the mainland and to obtain control of the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser. To this end the king succeeded in having his eight years' old son appointed



FREDERICK, KING OF DENMARK AND LAST ARCHBISHOP
OF BREMEN

coadjutor to the archbishop—now always a Protestant—from whose overlordship the city was now free—with right of succession. This prince succeeded in 1634. Sweden invaded the district, 1644, and at the peace of Westphalia Frederick, the last archbishop, the Danish prince, was set aside and the dioceses of Bremen and Verden were formed into a duchy and given to the King of Sweden. This king professed to believe that the city of Bremen was included in the new duchy. In 1653, five years after the treaty was signed at Münster, Swedish troops occupied Lehe and Vegesack, two villages belonging to the city. At the latter, where the new harbour had recently been constructed, the Swedes built fortifications which controlled the river navigation and exacted toll from every passing boat.

Another fort was built south of the city at the junction of the Weser and the Aller, so that all approach to Bremen was in Swedish hands and all sea-going boats had to pay toll to both Sweden and Oldenburg.

The city hastily strengthened her defences and hired several thousand troops to act with her citizen soldiers.

The emperor issued an edict forbidding the Duke of Bremen and Verden to interfere in any harmful manner with the free city of Bremen; but the King of Sweden instructed himself, as Duke of Bremen, to pay no attention to the imperial commands; and the Swedish troops proceeded to capture Bederkesa and Blumenthal, two fortresses belonging to the city. The senate discovered a conspiracy to hand the city over to the Swedes. An alderman named Losekanne was found guilty and beheaded, after first having his right hand, with which he had sworn allegiance, cut off.

Active warfare ensued, with numerous small battles and varying success. Then a sort of peace was patched up, but it was almost immediately broken by the Swedish general, von Wrangel, who invaded municipal territory and tried to surprise the city itself. The senate called the whole population to arms, and each individual inhabitant was compelled to take a separate oath of allegiance before the altar of his parish church. All was prepared for a siege; but hopes of aid from without were built upon: the friendship of Holland, upon the emperor's duty to protect them, upon the interest neighbouring princes had in curbing Swedish aggression and in the fact that the King of Denmark, as the heir presumptive to the throne of Oldenburg, must object to the aggrandizement of Sweden.

The city was completely invested and the bombardment began. There had been neglect and carelessness, partly due to the fact that Sweden had agreed to terms of peace; at any rate there was great scarcity of food in the city, despite several successful sorties.

Meantime, embassies from the neighbouring powers sought in vain to induce von Wrangel to desist, until at last the Duke of Brunswick headed an army raised jointly by the Netherlands, Denmark, Brandenburg and Brunswick, and marched to relieve Bremen. Thereupon Sweden agreed to an armistice and a conference, the result of which was that Bremen city had to submit to the suzerainty of the Duke of Bremen, or King of Sweden, until the year 1700, and to surrender several of her strongholds. It was a bitter pill, but it had to be swallowed,

and all was not lost. So they made the best of it, received General von Wrangel with great ceremony, gave him a magnificent banquet and fired salutes, with flags flying and troops under arms lining the streets. As soon as von Wrangel was gone the citizens burned and looted the property of a former burgomaster named Speckhahn, who had left the city and taken service under the King of Sweden. A great service was held in all the churches to give thanks that things were not worse.

In 1667 Anton Gunther, Count of Oldenburg, died, and the sovereignty of that country devolved upon the King of Denmark, and for nearly twenty years Bremen lived in constant expectation of an attack by the Danes; being thereby put to great expense in hiring troops to assist in defending the city.

In 1688 Sweden agreed to abandon all claim to suzerainty on payment of one hundred thousand thalers. The city accepted, whereupon the Swedes demanded one hundred and fifty thousand thalers more, and Bremen dropped the negotiations. Afterwards, when the King of Sweden, Charles XII., was engaged in some distant expedition, the Danes invaded the duchy and, in 1712, drove the Swedes out. Three years later the Danes sold the former diocesan lands to the English for a large sum of money, the King of England being also elector of Hanover.

In 1730 King George II. of England formally recognized the independence of the city, acknowledging her rights as an imperial free city, and thus concluding a long and difficult episode.

Few German cities escaped so well as Bremen from the horrors of the Thirty Years' War; but, on the other hand, few suffered more or more frequently from the more civilized Seven Years' War. She tried to be neutral, but her neutrality was not recognized, and French, Hanoverians and Prussians repeatedly devastated her territories and occupied the city, a humiliation to which she had not been subjected for several centuries. Many times troops were billeted upon all the citizens; many times the people were compelled to pay heavy war levies. In August 1757 the Marquis d'Armentier had his headquarters in the Stadthaus, a month later the Duc de Richelieu made a state entry, and was feasted for several days.

After the French withdrew and were defeated by Frederick the Great, they tried once more to enter Bremen, and the Duc de Broglie completely invested the city. Eventually he was

admitted with a guard on January 18, 1758, but an armed mob attacked him and his escort, and a sharp skirmish took place in the streets, in which three men and a woman were killed and many were wounded. Count St. Germain came to the duke's rescue, and remained within the walls with three whole regiments of infantry and a squadron of cavalry. This force was gradually increased until there were more than eight thousand Frenchmen quartered on the citizens. February 14 the Duke of Brunswick defeated a French army at Hoya, taking fifteen hundred prisoners, whereupon the French evacuated Bremen. The next day the Hanoverian general, von Diepenbrock, marched in at the head of four thousand troops, for whom he demanded an enormous amount of subsistence to be delivered within three days—four hundred thousand rations of bread, oats and hay and a burgomaster and two senators to be held as hostages. The senate protested to the Duke of Brunswick, whose reply was to increase the levy by four hundred thousand pounds of bread, a thousand tons of hay, two hundred thousand rations of oats, fifty thousand pounds of butter, fifty thousand pounds of cheese, one hundred thousand pounds meat, fifty thousand pounds rice and two hundred thousand herrings. Bremen rarely got much comfort out of her ducal neighbours.

This vast amount of provision was to be furnished by the senate alone. The people were taken under the protection of Hanover and were to suffer no harm. There was no help for it, and the senators began to deliver the provisions, but not being quick enough General von Hardenberg seized senators Meinertzhagen, Nonnen and Wickelhausen and sent them under strong guard to Stade, where they were kept in prison more than six weeks, and the city was not free from hostile troops until July.

For five years longer there was a continual marching of armies through the territories of Bremen and often through the city. There was a constant succession of occupations, fines and alarms until the peace of Hubertsburg in February 1763 brought the war to an end and marked the beginning of a period of peace, prosperity and energetic life, which lasted undisturbed for nearly thirty years.

In the year 1778, after France had acknowledged the independence of the revolting British colonies in America, Bremen for the first time began trading regularly with that continent, and, as her neutrality was acknowledged by all parties, her trade soon grew to vast proportions. England had permitted

none but herself to trade with her colonies, and now the colonies refused to trade with England, so of course the Germans profited, and to such an extent that in 1786, three years after England had acknowledged the independence of the United States, four hundred and seventy-eight ships from America entered the Weser, showing an unprecedented amount of trade at that time. During the three years from 1796 to 1799 the number of such ships was four thousand.

This great prosperity was completely ruined by the victories of the French Republic. On March 7, 1795, Field-marshal von Freytag, when driven out of Holland, retreated upon and occupied Bremen, and three weeks later three thousand English footguards arrived as reinforcement and remained until the following November, when they left. Commerce suffered from the turmoils of the following years, but the city was not again taken until the Prussians marched in in 1801.



SILVER JUG OF ENGLISH MANUFACTURE FROM THE STEELYARD, NOW IN BREMEN

The fortifications were too important to be ignored by a prudent general and too antiquated to be a real protection to the city from the artillery of the time, so the senate, hoping by their action to cease being an attraction to every passing army, tore down the walls, in

1807, and planted pleasure grounds on their site. The present wonderfully beautiful "Anlagen" are the result.

In the transactions of this period we once more find a Gröning among the leaders, but Johann Smidt, one time burgo-master, was the greatest Bremen citizen of this time, or perhaps of any other time.

CHAPTER XXII

THE FRENCH OCCUPATION

In 1806, the French again invaded this neighbourhood. England blockaded the Weser, the Ems, and the Elbe, and Prussia



ST ANSGAR'S CHURCH, BREMEN.

occupied the city. Smidt's transformation of the walls into parks did not keep out the enemy. The Hanseatic League was dead but its ghost still walked, and was known as the Free Hanseatic cities of Bremen, Hamburg and Lübeck. These three worked together when possible; but they could do so little that when the French, after their victory at Jena, sacked and plundered Lübeck, Bremen and Hamburg did nothing but tremble at their own prospects. What a turmoil such treatment of Lübeck would have created two or three centuries earlier!

They had not long to wait, Lübeck was taken November 5. On the 19th of the same month Hamburg was occupied, and on the 20th Bremen, though she was an ally of France, was occupied by Colonel Clement, who treated her as a conquered city. Money and arms were searched for and, when found, taken. Never before in her long history had she been so plundered and tyrannized over.

In June 1809, the Duke of Brunswick made his famous raid through northern Germany. With four hundred black hussars he surprised and captured Bremen, then, after a sharp skirmish at Huchtingen, he eluded the King of Westphalia and reached Elsfleth, where he took ship and escaped to England.

The fact that the citizens only offered a passive resistance to the Black Brunswickers—though they had no reason to love them—was made a reason by the French for increased cruelty. Among other actions by which the French occupation was made memorable, was the extortion of a fine of several hundred thousand thalers for having English goods in the city, and then the seizure of the goods and their destruction by fire in the meadows outside the gates.

In January 1809, Napoleon assured Syndic Gröning of the safety and autonomy of Bremen, but in December of the same year he put an end to the freedom of Holland, Lauenburg, and the Hanse towns and annexed them all to France.

On December 22, the senate said farewell to the citizens and closed an existence of nearly one thousand years, and the Prince of Eckmühl became governor. All commerce was at an end. Police spies were everywhere. Pressgangs gathered up citizens of every degree for service in the French navy, and at the same time the conscription for the army was made more severe. The whole 128th regiment was drawn from the Hanseatic cities and shipped off to Russia.

Perhaps Bremen was more restive under this treatment than were most other German towns; at any rate, it is reported that Napoleon once said: "My good city of Bremen is the most

disloyal of all the cities of my empire," and when the bulletin was published, December 2, 1812, announcing the retreat from Moscow, the citizens took so keen an interest in the news that the authorities grew suspicious, closed all clubs, prohibited public gatherings, and arrested thirty of the most eminent citizens, who were carried off as hostages.

In March of the following year, the King of Prussia issued his proclamation to his people. All Germany rose, like Antaeus from the earth, Körner and Arndt and Brentano published their patriotic verses, and a fresh and mighty effort was made to throw off the French yoke. An effort which, thanks to the co-operation of other countries, resulted in the victory of Leipzig, and the banishment of Napoleon.

General St. Cyr commanded in Bremen, and his was a reign of terror. The city and the neighbourhood were denuded of provisions. Every effort was made to extract all their money and valuables from the people. General van Damme averred that he would leave them nothing but their eyes to weep with. Many too patriotic men were shot. Executions for breaches of the French special laws were of daily occurrence. Lillienthal and Lesum were burned.

This state of things lasted through the spring and summer of 1813. Then General Tettenborn with a Russian army entered Hamburg, but was driven out again by Davoust, and retreated upon Bremen. The French who were in occupation resisted, but after a little skirmishing retired, and von Tettenborn occupied the city amid the rejoicing of the people.

The general drove the French from Oldenburg also, but was then compelled to withdraw and fall back on Verden.

Once more, and for the last time, a French army entered Bremen. General Lariberdière, unlike St. Cyr, van Damme and Davoust, was a civilized and humane soldier, and the citizens, who expected all the horrors of war, were surprised at being treated with every possible consideration.

However, the approach of some Cossacks, immediately after the receipt of news of the battle of Leipzig, caused the French to retreat, and Tettenborn returned, and on November 6 formally proclaimed, in the name of the Emperor of Russia, the abolition of the French government and the restoration of the republic, or free city of Bremen. The senate at once resumed the government as an independent member of the German Confederation.

A great day of thanksgiving and jubilation was celebrated

and, as if to show that the French had not succeeded in taking everything, one thousand thalers were collected for the deserving poor.

In spite of their severe conscription for both army and navy the French must have overlooked a good many young men, as six hundred and fifty volunteers appeared like magic, prepared to take part in freeing the fatherland.

Bremen, like the rest of Germany, was possessed of a tardy, but enthusiastic patriotism. In some cases even the women took up arms, and, in Bremen, one young lady of respectable family, Miss Anna Lühring, disguised herself as a man, joined Lützow's volunteers and served through an arduous campaign before her sex was discovered. She was then sent to Berlin where she was made much of by royalty, after which she returned to Bremen where she was received as a second Joan of Arc.

Some years later the senate granted her a pension which she lived to enjoy until 1866.

CHAPTER XXIII

BREMEN UNDER SMIDT

As soon as the river was again open and commerce again free, a period of prosperity began for Bremen, whose merchants built up a large and lucrative trade with England and North and South America.

The French occupation had had its good effect in opening the eyes and broadening the views of the citizens, and the great ability of Senator Smidt and his personal influence had succeeded in preserving the independence of the Hanse towns in spite of the efforts made by their neighbours to swallow them whole. Smidt represented Bremen at the Congress of Vienna, and afterwards in the Bundestag, or parliament, in Frankfort. At both places he exercised an influence far greater than was to be expected, considering that he was merely the representative of a small free city.

In 1821 Smidt was elected burgomaster, and he continued to govern the city until the day of his death. The chief event of his long reign was the founding of Bremerhaven. He was the first to realize that the day of small things had gone by, and that Bremen would lose her trade unless she had a harbour near

the sea. At this time the grand duchy of Oldenburg began to show a settled and calculated animosity to Bremen, and a determination to damage her commerce in every way; and, as she owned all one side of the Weser between the city and the sea, there were many ways. In the old days war would have been declared, and the ships of Bremen would have patrolled the river and swept the grand ducal coasts. This course was no longer practicable; but Smidt knew another way. He secretly approached Hanover, and in 1827 bought 138 hektars of land opposite the place where the river Geeste flows into the Weser and near the mouth of the latter. For this he paid 73,000 thalers. When this was announced there was a storm of opposition. Oldenburg was furious but impotent. The citizens of Bremen almost rebelled, as they said they might as well throw their money into the sea; so that it needed all of Smidt's influence and persuasive powers to induce them to accept his scheme.

In spite of antagonism at every step, the burgomaster had the harbour dug out and the town built, and it is now plain to every one that Bremen would be a dead city like those of the Zuyder Zee had it not been for the foresight and energy of Burgomaster Smidt. He continued to conduct the city's affairs through all the turmoil of 1848 and the following troubles, and died, full of years and honours, in 1857.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE LAST

BREMEN may almost be said to have continued to be mediæval until 1848, though she had a steamboat running on the river in 1817, in which year the Museum Club was lighted with gas, and the first railway train and first electric telegraph awakened the city in 1847. The revolution of 1848 resulted in throwing open the city to Jews, who had been forbidden to reside there before that year, and in a complete revision of the constitution, which was greatly modernized. Since then she has been through many vicissitudes. She has been a member of the old German Confederacy, of the North German Confederacy, and of the present German empire. She took part in the wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870. Many of her sons fell in the latter war,

and a monument to their memory has been raised in the Anlagen.

One of the greatest events in the modern history of Bremen was the founding of the North German Lloyd line of ocean-going steamers. The Oelrichs brothers and Hermann H. Meier were the fathers of this great and successful enterprise. H. H. Meier, often called the King of Bremen, was chairman of the North German Lloyd, founder of the Bremen Bank, member of the German Reichstag, and prominent in much of the commercial enterprise and public work of the city, though he was not a senator.

The entrance of the city into the German Zollverein (Customs' Union), much against her will, was another important event.

This occurred in 1888. The money received from the German government as compensation was spent in building a great harbour in the city and in deepening the Weser, so that now steamers of five thousand tons can come up and unload in the docks. The much larger vessels of the North German Lloyd are docked at Bremerhaven.

In many ways Bremen may properly be called a model city. She had public baths, beautiful public gardens, library and museum before the English and Scottish towns had shown an interest in such things. The schools are excellent, and the commercial school is second to none anywhere. The streets are smoothly paved and well kept. There are no slums. There is a good orchestra and an excellent theatre and opera subsidized by the city. Owing to the delightful pleasure-grounds, the frequent shade trees and the general custom of having flowers on balconies and window-sills, she has been called the "prettiest city in Europe."

Though many of her old buildings have given place to modern structures, and a whole new town has grown up without the walls, there are still enough of the mediæval houses left to make her interesting to the artist, the architect and the archæologist. The cathedral, the church of Our Lady and St. Ansgar's, are noble monuments of early piety. The Rathaus is one of the finest town halls in existence, and the Schütting, the Weigh House, the Gewerbehaus, or Guildhall, and several private houses in the market-place and the Langenstrasse are among the best mediæval architecture still surviving in Germany.

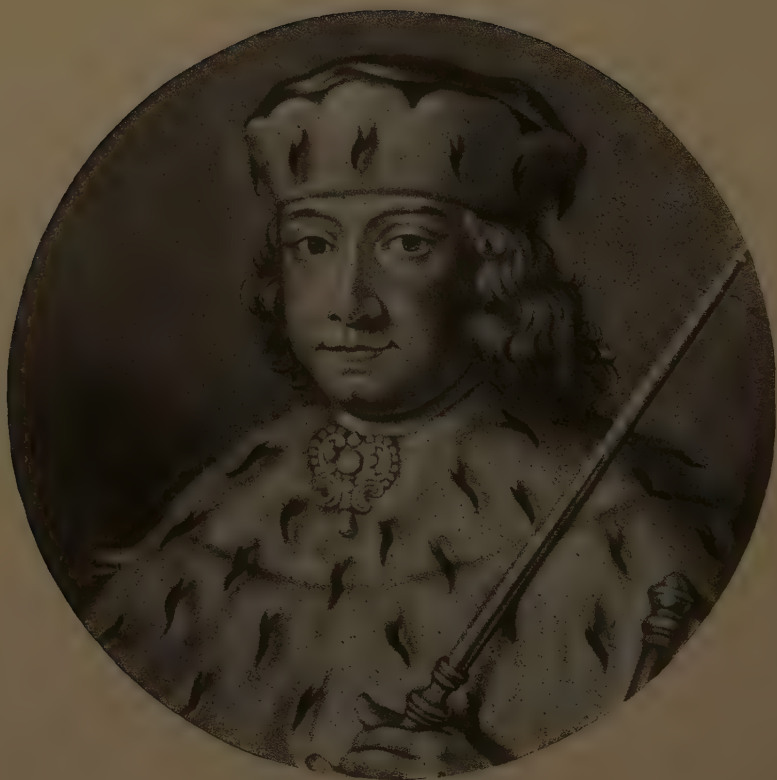
Bremen has not had a great literary or artistic history. There was a certain amount of literary productiveness in the eighteenth

century, and in the nineteenth Hauff, who was not a Bremer, wrote his famous *Fantasies* in the Bremen Ratskeller. Fritger, painter and poet, frescoed the Ratskeller and wrote numerous poems. Kohl, the traveller, and Bulthaupt, each in his time librarian to the city, have made noteworthy contributions to German literature. Olbers was an astronomer of world-wide fame, and Otto Gildemeister, who was for years the very capable burgomaster and representative of Bremen in the Bundesrath, has made translations of Dante, Byron and Shakespeare which are among the best in the German language, and he has also published several volumes of delightful essays, chiefly on English subjects.



WESTPHAL WAREHOUSE

BOOK II
A CHRONICLE
OF THE FREE CITY OF
HAMBURG



FRIDERICUS I.

Marchio Brandenburgicus

Sacri Romani Imperii Archicamerarius et Elector.

nat. d. 21. Sept. 1372.

.Elector ab Imperat: Sigismundo et Imperio creatus

d. 14. April. 1417.

denat. d. 21. Sept. 1440..

CHAPTER I

PRIMITIVE HAMBURG

HAMBURG was founded by Charlemagne, who had a castle, or stronghold, built there as an outpost to defend the Saxons and Franks against inroads by Norsemen, Wends and Slavs.

Tradition, of course, goes further back, and asserts that long before the coming of the great Charles it was a holy place where Druid priests sacrificed many victims—human and others—to their gods.

Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's successor, made it the seat of a frontier bishop, appointing as its first occupant a pious monk named Ansgar, whose missionary work among the Danes and Norsemen, whose whole-hearted devotion to his people, and whose herculean efforts to liberate the Christian slaves of those Scandinavian terrors, or to alleviate their condition, first won him translation to Bremen and, later, procured his canonization.

He was made bishop of Hamburg in 841. Four years afterwards the Norsemen surprised and wiped out the little place, killing most of the inhabitants. The good bishop's escape has been called miraculous. He wandered about the Saxon lands, with little to comfort him save a few bones which had once been part of two saints, Sixtus and Sinnicius, which he had rescued from the fated city of Hamburg. The haughty, jealous and prudent bishop, Luderick, of Bremen, closed his gates upon him, and he wandered on, homeless, until a Christian lady near Lüneburg gave him a farm, where he lived until the unfriendly Luderick died and the emperor appointed him bishop, or, as it was claimed, archbishop, of Bremen.

It seems to be certain that for eighteen years Ansgar acted as a missionary archbishop, whose province included not only the two dioceses of Bremen and Hamburg, but everything beyond them to the north and east, all Scandinavia and all Slavonia, the lands of the Wends and Iceland. Over and over again he journeyed, at great personal peril, to the savage heathen inhabiting Denmark and Sweden, preaching, baptizing and confirming, and using all of his own property, and even the

church plate, to buy the freedom of Germans who had been captured and enslaved by the fierce and cruel Northmen.

He became known as the Apostle of the North and the saint who released slaves.

St. Ansgar was succeeded by a very suitable man. Rembert had been his disciple, his companion and his devoted admirer. He wrote his life, and carried on his work in the same spirit. For twenty-three years he occupied the throne of Bremen, and all that time was heartily working to soften the hearts of the Scandinavians. Several times the Norsemen invaded Germany during Rembert's reign, killing all the people they could, carrying away all they could, and burning what they left behind; but every time they went back to their homes they were followed by missionaries, often by the intrepid bishop himself, trying to change their hearts and turn them from their evil ways.

Hamburg was rebuilt by Ansgar and Rembert, but the latter saw his diocese several times invaded, and in 880 the Norsemen defeated the Duke of Saxony's army, killed many noblemen and two warlike bishops, and burned Hamburg.

All we know of these terrible times we gather from the scanty contemporary chronicles, the work of German monks, who make the bishops the centre of their chronicles, yet even the bishops are often the merest shadows in the chronicles.

Adalgar, who followed Rembert, was furiously attacked for exercising the functions of an archbishop by the Archbishop of Cologne, who claimed that Bremen and Hamburg were parts of his province and owed him allegiance.

The dispute became very fierce, and a synod was convoked at Trier to determine which was right. The Archbishop of Mayence presided, and both parties presented their claims. The bishops were unable to decide, and handed over the responsibility to the god of battles.

All the bishops gathered at the lists, where two knights, Adelin and Widger, upheld the banners of Cologne and Bremen. At the first encounter Widger was thrown from his horse, and Cologne was declared to be victorious and given control of Bremen; a verdict which was endorsed by both emperor and pope.

Hogier was the next archbishop. During his time the so-called Huns invaded Germany, doing an enormous amount of damage. The Emperor Conrad gathered as many of his nobles with their followers as he could and followed and defeated the Huns, driving them out of Germany. Taking advantage of the

fact that most of the fighting men were away with the emperor, the Danes and Slavs again invaded north and north-eastern Germany, and the unhappy little Hamburg was, for the third time, burned. This was in 915.

Three years later the Emperor Conrad died, and the Duke of Saxony became emperor, known as Henry the Fowler, who introduced great changes and may be said to have laid the foundations for the Germany of to-day. He appointed a monk named Unno to be bishop of Hamburg. He was an intrepid missionary and frequently visited Scandinavia, especially Denmark, whose king, Hardiknut Wurm, was a wholesale manufacturer of Christian martyrs. Unno seemed to have no fear of this fierce king, and went about energetically, converting and baptizing, and among his converts was the king's son Harold. The bishop's spirit was stronger than his body, and after an arduous expedition to the barbarous islands of Sweden he broke down and died at Birca, not far from Upsala. His body was buried there, but his head was sent home to be treasured in the cathedral of Bremen.

Otto the Great taught his heathen neighbours to respect the Germans, but it was not all that was needed to make them give up their old religion in favour of the new one, whose armed adherents taught the gospel of mercy and peace with terrible cruelty.

Unno was succeeded in Bremen and Hamburg by Adaldag, who was many things, but not a missionary. He was a man of more worldliness and statesmanship than any of his predecessors. He was very young, of noble birth, and a personal friend of the emperor, by whom he was made imperial chancellor, and in consequence was rarely at either of his episcopal cities, being usually beside the emperor. Nevertheless he was archbishop, and when Otto conquered the Danes and compelled them to adopt Christianity, Adaldag divided Denmark into three dioceses and appointed bishops, all of whom were in the province of Bremen or Hamburg—the designation varying.

Returning from an absence of five years in Italy, he brought to Hamburg the then highly valued bones of some dead Italian saints, and the captive pope, Benedict V., who Otto had deposed. This strange visitor was much beloved by the people of Hamburg, as, indeed, he had been by the people of Rome. His exile was made as tolerable as good-will could make it, but the poor old gentleman is said to have succumbed to nostalgia. He was buried in the cathedral of Hamburg.

Archbishop Adaldag was a very great and brilliant man. He was the leading statesman during the reigns of the three Ottos—a great period in the history of the empire—and during his reign of fifty-three years there was no serious invasion by heathen enemies.

He was succeeded by Libentius, who was an excellent prelate when he could spare the time from his military duties, for his reign was marked by very frequent raids by Norsemen.

But the chief event, so far as Hamburg was concerned, was the terrible uprising of the Slavs who lived in what is now Mecklenburg and Prussia, east of the Elbe. They had been nominally converted to Christianity for more than sixty years, but during that time they had been oppressed and trodden down by the Germans. There were a few Germans only—governors and priests—residing among them, but those few carried things with very high hands. Both of the chroniclers, Adam and Helmold, often refer to this as the cause of frequent slight uprisings and revolts against German rule and German Christianity.

Of the great uprising in 1012 it is told that Mistevoi, prince of the Obotrits, whose land is now called Mecklenburg, visited the court of Bernhard II., Duke of Saxony, and there fell in love with the duke's sister Matilda, widow of a Count of Flanders. The duke, who was starting on an Italian campaign with the emperor, promised his sister's hand to the prince if he would join the expedition. This he did with 1000 of his rude but strong and well-mounted Slavs. The prince was given so many opportunities for distinguishing himself that, although he came back, most of his thousand warriors were killed. Conscious of his services and remembering the duke's promise, he asked for his reward, but he was greeted with jeers and reproaches. He was called a heathen dog and a Slavic hog, to whom it would be a sin and a shame to give a Christian princess.

Mistevoi returned to his people, whom he found exasperated to the highest pitch by the treatment they received from the Germans—officials, knights and priests. He had not been popular in his own country, being considered too German, but when the people heard how he had been insulted they gladly received him as their leader.

The rising of the Wends was sudden, unexpected and terrible. According to Helmold, they destroyed all the churches and murdered all the priests, so that there was not a trace of

Christianity left on that side of the Elbe. In Aldenburg, a populous place in Holstein, sixty priests were tortured.

Hamburg, the duke's capital, was attacked, and as the duke was absent with most of his men, fighting against the emperor, there was no one to defend the place, which was destroyed. The men were killed and the young women were carried away, but the priests, monks and nuns were tortured in ways that were worthy of Sioux or Apaches.

Mistevoi, who led this sanguinary and successful revolt, afterwards repented him of his evil deeds, abdicated, and retired to a monastery at Bardewick, where he died 1025.

It was a dozen years or more after its destruction by Mistevoi before Hamburg again began to rise from her ruins; but by the middle of the century she was once more flourishing, and the Alsterburg, which was built on the site of Charlemagne's old castle, was the favourite residence of the Duke Bernhard of Saxony, while his bitterest enemy, the great Archbishop Adalbert, had a strongly fortified palace there which he occupied as a summer home.

But in 1066 the Slavs once more arose in their might and of Christianity said, "We will have none of you." Godeschalck, the able and powerful man who had forged for himself a kingdom by riveting together several principalities, including Mecklenburg, was murdered because he was a Christian. His queen, a daughter of the King of Denmark, was, with other elderly Christian women, stripped naked and driven with whips from the land. The aged Bishop John, a Scotsman, was beaten, then led in triumph through the Slavic towns to the altar of the god Radegast in the temple at Rethra, and there his hands and feet were hewn off and offered as a burnt-offering. Hamburg was again utterly destroyed, for there was no one to defend her. The haughty Adalbert was in disgrace, hiding from his Christian enemies. The fierce old Duke Bernhard was dead, and his son Ordulf spent twelve years fighting unsuccessfully against the victorious Slavs.

This destruction of Hamburg by Slavs and Wends under Prince Baruth in 1072 was the most bloodthirsty, cruel and complete of the numerous calamities that had visited the luckless town, and has been known as the "great blood-bath."

CHAPTER II

BEGINNING OF THE SCHAUENBURG LINE

WHEN Lothar, afterwards emperor, was duke of Saxony, he selected a knight of the Sautersleben family, and placed him in Holstein as Count Adolf I. of Schauenburg, with the especial duty of guarding that frontier against Slavs and Danes. This was in 1110, and he reigned with great success for twenty years. He found the country depopulated and ruined. The towns had been destroyed, and the land had gone to waste. He followed the plan of inviting people from the Netherlands and Frisia to come and settle and reclaim the land, offering liberal terms to immigrants, many of whom came and settled as free peasants or yeomen throughout the flat and marshy country.

Adolf rebuilt the cathedral at Hamburg, which had been a heap of ruins since 1072, and his wife, who took great interest in the work of restoring the town, built herself a castle on the Alster; and, as she had swans in her family coat of arms, she brought swans and domesticated them on the river. And it is said that those birds were the ancestors of many of the swans now to be seen on the beautiful ornamental waters of the stately Hamburg of to-day. The cathedral built by Adolf I. lasted until 1805, when it was torn down.

The count entered into friendly relations with Henry, prince of the Wends, and with Knut Laward, the Danish king. Later he rebuilt the walls of Hamburg. He had great, far-reaching plans for the good of the country; but they came to naught, because of his sudden death in 1130. He was sincerely mourned by all of the inhabitants of Hamburg, who had never known such a ruler. Kind, gentle, firm and generous, they called him on his tomb: "The second founder and the greatest benefactor of Hamburg."

His widow, the Countess Hildewa, continued to live in her castle on the Alster and to do what she could to favour the little city.

Adolf I. was succeeded by his son Adolf II. as Count of Holstein. Soon after his accession Knut Laward, who had made himself master of the Wendish and Slavic lands in the neighbourhood, was murdered, January 1131, and the Princes Pribislaw and Niklot, who had been driven out by the Dane, flew to arms and attempted once more to get possession of their

lands, and to overthrow Christianity. Hamburg escaped destruction, but there was the most dreadful persecution of Christians throughout the Slavic principalities, and the heathen religion was formally reinstated.

Adolf II. appealed for aid to the Emperor Lothar, who sent an army. The Slavic princes submitted, recognized the suzerainty of the emperor, and were permitted to retain their thrones.

We have seen in another place how Lothar had given the duchy of Saxony to his son-in-law, Henry the Proud, the Guelf, Duke of Bavaria, and how Albert the Bear, Count of Anhalt, had disputed the gift. Both were grandsons in the female line of the last of the Billungs.

Count Adolf II. had taken his oath of allegiance to Duke Henry and joined his party. When Albert the Bear triumphed, he deposed Adolf and appointed Count Henry of Badewide in his place. That nobleman at once marched upon Holstein, lay siege to Hamburg, and forced Count Adolf to fly, for Duke Albert and Emperor Conrad were both back of his enemy. The latter, after taking Hamburg, destroyed the castle on the Alster, and was proceeding to take possession of Holstein, when Henry the Proud suddenly died. His young son, Henry the Lion, was recognized by the emperor as Duke of Saxony. Albert the Bear was pacified by being made Margrave of Brandenburg, and Count Henry of Badewide found himself abandoned. He tried to buy his right to Holstein from the widowed Duchess Gertrud in vain and Adolf was reinstated. Henry of Badewide was given one of the Slavic principalities by the emperor, and took the title of Count of Ratzeburg.

Hamburg thus came peaceably once more under the Schauenburgs. Adolf II., like his father, was an able ruler and a benefactor of the city and the country. He invited colonists, and succeeded in getting much of the land under cultivation. He developed some salt springs and encouraged trade; but the most important and far-reaching of his acts was the foundation of the city of Lübeck where the river Stecknitz flows into the Trave, in the year 1141. He made a treaty with the Slavic Prince Niklot, and peace reigned within his borders.

About this time came Bernard of Clairvaux preaching a crusade. His eloquence had such results that there were too many volunteers to be taken care of at once, and so it was decided to divide them into three armies. The greater part marched overland, only to meet with treachery and disaster

in the empire of Byzantium. Another portion took ship at Bremen and the Rhine ports, and, joined by many English crusaders, sailed for Spain and captured Lisbon.

The third army remained at home and, under the spiritual guidance of Archbishop Albero of Bremen and Hamburg, and led by the young Duke Henry the Lion, Konrad of Wittin, Konrad of Zaringe and Adalbert of Soltwedel, undertook a crusade against the heathen Slavs on their own borders.

When Prince Niklot heard of this he appealed to Adolf of Holstein for the aid which, by treaty, he was bound to give him. That prince, however, refused, as he believed himself to be bound more by his oaths of allegiance to the Duke of Saxony and the Church than by his treaty.

When Niklot heard this he did not wait to be attacked, but sailed with a fleet to the mouth of the Trave, ascended that river and surprised Lübeck when its inhabitants were suffering from the effects of a drunken debauch in honour of St. John and St. Paul on June 26.

The harbour was full of ships, all of which Niklot burned. He also killed about three hundred men. Many escaped by flight; some succeeded in shutting themselves up in the citadel, where they had to stay for some time, as the Slavs ravaged and pillaged the country for many miles around. One hundred Frisian colonists shut themselves into a small castle at Susle and kept the enemy at bay, but otherwise all fled.

Count Adolf, as soon as he heard of the invasion, got an army together and marched against the enemy, who did not, however, wait for him, but after doing all the damage he could, loaded his ships with booty and sailed away.

News of this raid soon spread throughout northern Germany, and the crusaders at once marched into the enemy's country and besieged two of the most important Slavic castles, Dubin and Dimin. In these sieges the Germans were joined by a Danish army. The siege lasted a long time, and just the same thing happened that has weakened other conglomerate armies: dissensions arose, and finally the crusaders withdrew on condition that the Slavs would be baptized. This they cheerfully agreed to—as they had so often done before—and the war was at an end.

Many Hamburgers took part in this crusade, whereas most of the citizens of Lübeck and Bremen who took the cross joined in the attack upon Lisbon or sailed away to Venice and thence to the east.

Count Adolf continually found himself in the unpleasant position of wishing to keep on good terms with his Slavic neighbours and being compelled to fight against them by his overlord. In 1150 he became involved in the civil war in Denmark, and the citizens of Hamburg took part in at least one campaign.

When this war was ended Adolf appointed an aged missionary named Vicelin to be bishop of Aldenburg. Henry the Lion objected that this was interfering with *his* rights, and Vicelin went to the duke to be made bishop. The archbishop, who considered that the right of appointing the bishops in his province belonged to *him*, dared not interfere. Old Vicelin died soon after, and Gerold, who succeeded him, was the last bishop of Aldenburg, as in his time the bishopric's title was changed to Lübeck and the bishops resided in that city. This happened in 1163. Lübeck was growing rapidly. Energetic immigrants were arriving daily, and the trade and shipping were increasing so rapidly that the prosperity of Bardewick, the most important town in



WEDDING COIN OF HENRY THE LION

Saxony, was seriously menaced. It was one of the largest and most flourishing towns in northern Europe. It had a cathedral, a monastery and eight parish churches all built of brick and stone, and was protected by high walls and a strong citadel.

This city became jealous of the upstart town which Count Adolf II. had founded on the Trave, and complained to the duke that her trade—and consequently his revenues—was being threatened with extinction.

Henry the Lion acted at once. He wrote a characteristic letter to his great vassal, the Count of Holstein, in which he notified him that the new town of Lübeck was robbing his old town of Bardewick of her trade, and as that was a part of his patrimony he was bound to protect it. Consequently he

requested Count Adolf to give him the town of Lübeck, and by the way he might as well at the same time shut up his new salt wells, as they interfered with the monopoly which his own salt wells at Lüneberg had always enjoyed.

Naturally Count Adolf refused to comply with this request, but Duke Henry meant to have a thing when he asked for it. In many ways he resembled his terrible father-in-law, Henry II. of England, and the end was not yet.

The growing importance of the Baltic trade attracted residents to Lübeck from all the surrounding country and from Frisia and Flanders. Suddenly these thriving citizens were informed that the duke had cancelled all their market privileges, and immediately thereafter the town was destroyed by fire. The disheartened citizens refused to rebuild in a place where no market could be held, and Count Adolf, finding that he had lost his city and its people, gave in and delivered to the duke the citadel and the site of the city.

The market rights and other privileges were promptly restored, the people returned, and ere long the city was again thriving, defended by a strong wall and governed by a deputy of the duke.

Pleased with his new acquisition, the duke did all he could to increase the prosperity of the new city, greatly to the satisfaction of her inhabitants, and to the annoyance of the people of Bardewick, who saw their trade deserting them, aided and abetted by their own duke.

Henry, with a very large and stately retinue, made an overland pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and was everywhere received as a great sovereign. He returned bringing many relics of saints and oriental luxuries and works of art, including the famous Byzantine lion, which stands in the public square in the city of Brunswick.

When he was at home again his pride and arrogance were insufferable. He considered himself superior to all his fellow-sovereigns; but he had to recognize the emperor as his superior, and he found it so difficult to do, that at length he refused to go to Frederick Barbarossa's assistance in Italy when summoned to do so. Frederick did not forget this, and as soon as he returned to Germany he marched with his army to punish the lion duke. Henry had made enemies of most of his neighbours, and they now joined with the emperor to hunt him down.

Adolf II. was dead, and his son Adolf III. was Count of

Schauenburg. He joined the duke and marched against the archbishop, Elector of Cologne, and defeated him; but Henry, by his overbearing behaviour, offended Adolf, who left him and joined the emperor, who had summoned him.

Henry, with his dwindling army, fled to Bardewick, his chief city, but the people closed their gates against him and, it is said, shouted insults from the walls. Henry fled further and reached Stade, a stronghold of his ally the archbishop of Bremen, and there, for a time, he was safe.

The emperor was welcomed with joy by Bardewick, from whence he marched to Lübeck.

The duke was utterly defeated, his treasure was exhausted, his men were deserting, and he could resist no longer. He was deposed and banished. He joined his wife's family in England. His lands were confiscated and divided among his enemies. In 1185 he was permitted to return, but only as Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, which he had inherited from his grandmother. He resented this inferior position so strenuously that he was advised to return to England, and accepted the advice.

Meanwhile Adolf III. had come into peaceful possession of Holstein and Hamburg. He was a young man of energy and foresight. Believing that Hamburg might be made the chief sea-port of Germany, he obtained for her from the emperor a number of important privileges, such as freedom from taxes levied by neighbouring nobles, freedom from river tolls which Stade had levied upon Hamburg shipping, large fishing rights, and the right to prevent by force any and every one from building castles or fortresses anywhere within eight miles (English) of the city. These were included in a charter signed by the emperor in 1189. Adolf tore down some useless fortifications and built a harbour. He gave the land for a new town, and invited Frisians and Flemings to come and settle. A new church was built, and the new town was called St. Nicholas, in honour of the patron saint of all mariners. It is now one of the most important parts of the city.

Under the wise rule of Adolf III. Hamburg grew and prospered as she had never done before.

But the emperor decided to head a new crusade to regain the holy places which the Saracens had taken from the Christians; and Count Adolf went with him. They marched away in May 1189 with an army of 180,000 men full of hope of success, and faith that they were doing God's work. Many citizens of Bremen and Hamburg took part in this crusade.

Hardly had they left Germany when Henry the Lion came back from England, and this time met with a warmer welcome. Many of his most powerful enemies, including the emperor, were gone. The archbishop of Bremen (who had kept him informed of what was going on, and who believed himself to have been injured by the Archbishop of Cologne, who had received a great share of Henry's possessions) made him welcome and joined him at Stade.

Holstein submitted peacefully, and Hamburg and other fortified towns prudently threw their gates open for him. The Count von Dassel, whom Adolf had left as regent, and Adolf's wife and family were in Lübeck, whither Henry marched at once, and which he invested with a part of his troops. With the rest (and joined by the Counts of Schwerin and Ratzeburg) he marched against Bardewick, where he again found the gates closed.

The side of the city next the river was not fortified, as the stream was deemed to be sufficient protection. A bull was seen by the duke to cross the stream at a spot where no ford had been known to exist. Taking advantage of this, the duke ordered a general attack to be made upon the walls, and under cover of that he, with a picked guard, forded the river and entered the town. The gates were soon opened, the troops poured in, and general massacre and destruction followed. Only one man is said to have escaped death. The town was burned, the churches were despoiled. The fine stained windows of the cathedral and the books were sent to Ratzeburg. The duke's chief town was wiped out of existence by the duke. It never recovered. Lüneburg, which was only a few miles away, was growing rapidly and used Bardewick as a quarry. At the present day the gaunt cathedral, restored as a parish church, stands high among market gardens, the produce of which goes by water to Hamburg. It is said that the market women still remember with shame the destruction of their city, and that mischievous street urchins in Hamburg are wont to call out when they see a Bardewick "obstfrau," "Wat makt de Bull von Bardewick?" Whereupon the irate hucksters throw cabbage stalks or decayed vegetables at their tormentors.

After destroying Bardewick the duke returned to Lübeck, which surrendered on condition that Count von Dassel and the Countess von Holstein and her family should not be molested. The duke then overran and occupied the whole territory ruled by the absent Adolf. He then attacked and captured the

Lovenburg, a castle belonging to Bernhard of Anhalt, who had been appointed Duke of Saxony by the emperor. But Henry's temper was too much for his adherents. After these successes they began to fall away. Count von Dassel and Adolf's wife had flung out their standard, and men flocked to it from all over the land.

Henry sent an army into Holstein, which was disastrously beaten and its leaders, Counts of Ratzeburg and Schwerin, were captured.

News of all these occurrences reached the Holy Land, where Count Adolf had so distinguished himself that Frederick personally knighted him, and granted him the privilege of adding three nails—crucifixion nails—to his arms. He was sent home to defend his territories, and thus he escaped much of the suffering of that unfortunate campaign. He had left before the tragic death of the emperor.

He was so active and resourceful after reaching Hamburg that Henry made overtures of peace, a consummation greatly accelerated by the activity and capacity of the young Emperor Henry.

The person who suffered most by this peace was the unprincipled and unfortunate Archbishop Hartwig. He had tried always to be on the winning side, and he had always chosen wrong. The new emperor was so enraged at his shifty policy that the archbishop escaped to England. The emperor confiscated his income, gave the city of Bremen to the citizens of Bremen, and Dietmarsh and Stade to Count Adolf.

In 1191 the emperor was in Italy, and Henry the Lion, an old lion now, again made war on Adolf. The wily Hartwig came back from England and joined the duke with an army with which he had just been ravaging his own diocese. Everything was chaotic, the duchy and Holstein were overrun by ruthless troops. No one respected any rights but those of the fist. Trade had ceased to exist. The nobles took sides with one or the other of the leaders—the duke, the count and the archbishop.

The clergy of Bremen sent to the pope asking to have Hartwig deposed, and without awaiting reply, elected Prince Waldemar of Schleswig, a cousin of the King of Denmark. The pope refused the petition. Waldemar, who dearly loved a fight, started promptly for Bremen, but his cousin the king, who hated him, captured him and threw him into a very uncomfortable dungeon, where he had to stay for thirteen weary years.

After a long and varying war, during which the people were reduced to the greatest wretchedness, Henry the Lion submitted. Hartwig came to terms with his clergy, but neither the citizens of Bremen nor Count Adolf would have any dealings with him. The archbishop promptly excommunicated everybody, and after the horrors of war ensued those horrors which, in mediæval times, could be brought upon a people at the will of a more than usually wicked and malignant archbishop with the aid of his power to excommunicate.

This civil war, aggravated by ecclesiastical maledictions, was hardly over before a new and greater civil war began. The Emperor Henry died, and two successors, Otto and Philip, were chosen. The whole empire was in an uproar, some being for Otto and some for Philip. Hartwig II. was now for one, now for the other; but with his long experience as a turncoat, he could not keep up with fortune. He was always on the losing side. The Guelfic Otto was defeated, escaped to Denmark, and then in 1201 marched into Germany at the head of an army about half Danish. He overran Dietmarsh and Holstein and occupied Hamburg and Lübeck, and he defeated Adolf and took him prisoner. Otto was once more in power. Everything again favoured him (Hartwig had just definitely committed himself to the other side). The Guelfs took Bremen and captured the archbishop, and made him give Stade as ransom to Otto's brother, the pfalsgrave Henry, who had taken Bremen.

Holstein and Hamburg were still in the hands of the Danes. The Danish king Waldemar about this time released his cousin, Archbishop Waldemar, on condition that he left Denmark and promised never to return. He had been in a dungeon for fifteen years, and he promised anything he was asked to promise. The chapter of Bremen elected him archbishop. The King of Denmark and the Hamburg chapter protested. Pope Innocent III. refused to recognize him, but Waldemar cared for none of those things. He made haste to Bremen, and was enthusiastically received as archbishop. He at once raised an army and marched against King Waldemar. The king ordered the Hamburg chapter to elect an archbishop, and they chose Burchard the dean of Bremen, who came at once and was invested by the king as if it had been a Danish see. Then the two archbishops led their armies to take Stade. The peasants of the recently settled marsh lands favoured Waldemar and flocked to his standard. By their aid Burchard and his army

were routed and the Danes driven from Stade. Suddenly came the assassination of the Emperor Philip, and the peaceful recognition of Otto as emperor by all Germany in 1208. Otto at once gave up his alliance with the Danes, and Burchard gave up the contest for the see of Bremen. The pope, however, would have none of Waldemar, and he induced the Bremen chapter to abandon him and nominate Gerhard, a count of Oldenburg, as archbishop.

Waldemar refused to give up. He had the pope and most of the clergy against him, but he had the emperor and the peasants on his side. For seven years the war went on, with the pope and Frederick of Hohenstauffen backing Gerhard, and the emperor and the Landgrave backing Waldemar. The latter was able to carry on the war with a fair amount of success. It was not until his rival had succeeded in winning over his peasant allies that Waldemar gave up the contest and retired to a monastery, where he ended his adventurous life.

Gerhard, who succeeded at last, reigned but a short time and was succeeded by Gerhard II., a man of strong passions and great ability. He enlarged and consolidated the diocese. He fought with, and exterminated the liberty-loving peasants of Stedingen, and he ended the long-standing dispute as to whether the proper episcopal title was archbishop of Bremen or archbishop of Hamburg. Both titles had been used by popes and emperors, but Gerhard succeeded in getting the pope, in 1223, to issue an official order declaring that the archbishopric of Hamburg had ceased to exist and had become a part of the province of Bremen.

CHAPTER III

ADOLF IV.

AFTER Adolf III. had regained his lands and overcome his enemies he built a church, which he dedicated to St. Nicholas, in Hamburg, and a hospital for lepers.

Leprosy was at that time one of the most terrible plagues in the world. Whether it had long existed in northern Europe or had been brought back from the east by returning crusaders is uncertain, but it was a common, loathsome, and much-dreaded disease. The people feared it, and stringent laws were made

regarding it. It was terribly painful, awfully disfiguring, highly infectious, and eventually fatal. Yet the victims often lingered for many years.

So soon as the disease showed itself the unfortunate person who was afflicted was brought before judge and physician, examined, declared legally dead, cast out, and forbidden to associate with any healthy human beings. His clothes were burned and, instead of them, he was given garments which were purposely conspicuous, so as to proclaim him from afar. Far away in moor or desert or marsh-lands a hut was built, where, after listening to his own death mass, he could exist. Perhaps he would be alone, perhaps he would herd together with other unfortunates; men, women, or children, thieves or honest men, noble or simple, wise or foolish; for the leprosy was no respecter of persons. They were forbidden to pass certain boundaries, across which their food was flung to them, and, if they did pass those limits, any one had a right to kill them, as he might kill a mad dog or a venomous serpent, for, did a leper, but by chance, touch a well person, that person was promptly cast out, hopelessly lost, to live henceforth among the lepers.

Heine refers to one of these lost souls who was a poet—the most famous lyric poet of the fifteenth century.—He wandered, houseless, homeless, hopeless and friendless, on the outskirts of humanity, whilst all Germany was whistling his merry tunes and singing his cheery songs. He had been a merciful monk who had been cast out for ministering to dying lepers. Heine says: "Sometimes among the gloomy phantasms that visit me at night I seem to see before me the poor priest of the Lüneburg Chronicle, my brother in Apollo, and his sorrowful eyes stare sadly from under his hood. Then, almost instantly, he vanishes and I hear, faintly, dying away like the echo of a dream, the jarring tones of the lazar bell." At the beginning of the thirteenth century, there were said to be nineteen thousand leper houses throughout Europe. Shocked at the condition of these unfortunate outcasts, Adolf III. founded a hospital for their care and treatment. It was one of the earliest and noblest of the many institutions for benevolent and charitable purposes for which Hamburg is famous. The inmates, when they walked abroad, were compelled to wear long grey cloaks, wrap their heads in white cloths and ring a small bell to warn others of their approach, just as other lepers did, but there was some attempt made to ameliorate the suffering, and some attention was paid to their spiritual requirements. In churches built about this

time, so-called "Squints" were often constructed. These were slanting openings in the walls, through which the lepers, standing outside, might see the altar and know when the Host was elevated, without entering the buildings.

Adolf III.—who was loved by the citizens of Hamburg, and hated by the nobles of his lands, which were Lauenburg, Dietmarsh, Holstein and Stade, because he had subdued them and forced them to keep a certain amount of order—lived for five years in peace, or as nearly peace as was possible in his time. In the year 1200 he was at war with Knut VI. of Denmark, and lost the castle of Rendsburg. In 1201, Waldemar, duke of Jutland, King Knut's brother, marched into Holstein, met Adolf at Stillnow and inflicted a crushing defeat upon that ruler, whose army was nearly annihilated. The count fled to Stade, where he gathered some troops together and succeeded in reaching his beloved Hamburg. Duke Waldemar beleaguered him there; with but slight result at first, but when a heavy frost froze the waters of the Elbe and the Alster, the Danes marched across the ice and captured the city, which had placed too much trust in its water barriers. Adolf was taken prisoner. Magnanimity to enemies or prisoners of war was not a common virtue in the thirteenth century. Waldemar put Adolf in fetters and led him publicly through his own lands as an interesting show, after which he cast him into a dungeon of the castle of Seeburg, in the island of Zealand, where a fellow-prisoner was that archbishop Waldemar, of whom we have spoken above.

In 1203, Knut VI. died and his warlike brother, the Duke of Jutland, succeeded him as Waldemar II. The castle of Lauenburg had held out against Knut for all these months, but the garrison now proposed to surrender on the condition that Adolf should be released. This was only agreed to with very humiliating conditions. Adolf was compelled to resign all claim upon Holstein, Dietmarsh and Stormarn, besides furnishing twelve hostages, including two of his own sons. He was then set free and went at once to his ancestral castle of Schauenburg on the Weser, where he lived in retirement for more than twenty years. He never broke his word, so he never again claimed any rights over the countries where he had reigned so wisely and so well. Hamburg mourned for him sincerely.

Waldemar II. appointed Albert von Orlamünde to govern the German provinces north of the Elbe, which he had captured and named Nord-Elbingen. Albert made Reinhard von Pinnow

ruler of Hamburg, but he himself took a strong interest in that town, where he was well liked.

Under Albert's rule Hamburg and Lübeck made a treaty whereby citizens of each city had equal rights with the citizens of the other. Lübeck had become more important than Hamburg, but both were rich and necessary to each other, Lübeck as an outlet for Hamburg on the Baltic; Hamburg as a North Sea port for Lübeck.

At this time, as we have seen, there were two archbishops and two emperors, and the land was overrun and ruined by the contending armies. Otto had allied himself with the Danes, but, after his rival's death, when all Germany recognized him as emperor, he quarrelled with King Waldemar, and he and Archbishop Waldemar captured Hamburg. The next year King Waldemar recaptured Hamburg and sold it to Albert von Orlamünde as a personal possession to belong to him and his heirs for ever. For this very dubious title Albert paid seven hundred marks silver.

He at once granted the city several new privileges, calculated to increase her trade, and also the right to choose whether to be governed by Saxon laws or by the Lübeck code. Until Adolf II. had constructed the new harbour, Hamburg had not been much of a sea-port. Since then, however, despite frequent captures and disasters, she had steadily grown in importance, and every captor had treated her well, hoping to derive permanent advantage from the flourishing trade.

King Waldemar was a conquerer. He had increased his kingdom greatly—chiefly at the expense of Germany. He took, and held for more than twenty years, Holstein, Dietmarsh, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and all lands between the Elbe and the Oder, north of Brandenburg, and the island of Rügen, one of the Slavic principalities, and the cities of Lübeck and Hamburg. In all these he was liked, and his rule was wise. The people were satisfied, and most of them had little desire to return to their former rulers. Those rulers, however, were not at all satisfied.

In 1223, Henry the Black, of Schwerin, by an act of treachery, captured the king and one of his sons, and imprisoned them in the castle of Schwerin. He only escaped after formally giving up all of his German conquests, and paying a large sum in cash to the treacherous Schwerin. Holstein and Hamburg were to belong to Orlamünde, but as a fief of the emperor instead of the king.

Everything in that part of the world being in a chaotic condition, Archbishop Gerhard II., who had had charge of the young son of Count Adolf III., thought it was the right time to make an effort to recover the lands of which the Schauenburg family had been despoiled. He consequently proclaimed the sovereignty of Adolf IV., who was twenty-two years old, and marched with him and a large army into Holstein, where they met with little opposition, at first, and captured a number of strongholds.

Orlamünde, needing money, and wishing to concentrate his forces, sold all his rights over Hamburg to the city herself, and withdrew to a more suitable place.

The treacherous Count of Schwerin marched to the archbishop's assistance. Albert of Orlamünde, with a Danish army, intercepted him and a decisive battle was fought near the little city of Mölln. The Danes were completely routed, and Orlamünde was captured and sent to join his royal master in the castle of Schwerin.

A few weeks later Hamburg surrendered to Adolf IV., Dietmarsh threw off the Danish yoke, and all the castles held by the Danes throughout North Elbingen were captured, and some of them were destroyed. Among these was a, so-called, Zwinger, built by the Count of Orlamünde, about three miles from Hamburg, on the road from Schiffbeck to Steinbeck, on a little wooded hill, where a fine house now stands in the midst of a garden. This castle was stoutly defended, but finally captured, and Count Adolf had it destroyed because one of the city's privileges was that no fort or stronghold should be built within eight miles (English) of her walls. For centuries the ruins lasted, and there were still some stately remains to be seen in 1720. Around these a legend grew, according to which the Count of Orlamünde had buried, somewhere in the castle, the fifteen hundred marks silver which he had received from the citizens of Hamburg for their freedom, as well as a golden cradle belonging to the Danish royal family. After a while, treasure-seekers began to dig among the ruins, hoping to find what, tradition said, the count had buried. Then terrifying rumours began to prevail that the treasure was guarded by a spectre, which grew, in time, to be a throng of ghosts. At last the legend shaped itself, and these guardians were the spirits of Danes who had been killed when defending the castle, and had not received Christian burial. And thus the place became known as the Spökelberg, or spooks' hill. And so it is called to this day.

In November 1225, King Waldemar was finally released from prison, upon paying a large sum in cash and resigning all the lands he had taken from German, Wendish, or Slavic princes, except the island of Rügen. Under this agreement Adolf IV. became ruler over the lands which had been taken from his father, who had died earlier in the year.

Not long after this the Danish crown prince escaped from prison and joined his father, who reached home on Christmas Day, 1225. The anti-German pope, Honorius III., relieved him from his oath, because he had made it when in prison, and declared the treaty to be null and void, and obtained by a scandalous misuse of power.

With his conscience thus quieted, Waldemar marched at the head of an army into Dietmarsh and compelled the sturdy inhabitants to join him, and then began a punitive campaign against Holstein and Count Adolf, whom he completely defeated at Rendsburg. All Holstein was now his; but the archbishop of Bremen still had an army with which he was able to keep the king from further progress, whilst the treacherous Schwerin made haste to find reinforcements. All the Germans sprang to arms—at least all in that vicinity—and even the emperor sent three hundred troops—all he could spare for a mere German purpose. Had it been a matter vital to Italy he might himself have led a hundred thousand.

Hamburg voluntarily contributed twelve hundred marks; and the sons of leading citizens formed a *corps d'élite* to act as body-guard to Count Adolf. Hundreds of poorer citizens took up arms and hastened to the front. Albert, duke of Saxony, came with a large following; knights and men-at-arms swarmed in from Mecklenburg; and Lübeck, which had but recently released herself after twenty years' subjugation to Denmark, sent the flower of her male population under her famous burgomaster Alexander Soltwedel.

These allied forces gathered in the city of Lübeck, and, marching thence through Holstein, joined the army of the militant archbishop of Bremen.

At Bornhöved (a group of farms, or Höfe, on the banks of a Born, or brook), not far from Neu Münster, on St. Mary Magdalene's Day, July 22, 1227, the two armies met in battle on a vast plain.

The ambitious and experienced Danish king, inspired by memories of his numerous successes, and of his intolerable wrongs, commanded, and led the centre attack. His left was

led by his son, Prince Abel, and his right by his uncle, the German Duke of Lüneburg.

The Germans had no commander-in-chief, but the centre was led by the archbishop and by the youthful Adolf IV. Albert of Saxony led the left, and Schwerin and Soltwedel the right.

All knew that the fate of northern Germany depended upon this battle. There were no more armies to be gathered up. If the Germans were beaten the lands north of the Elbe would be lost to the empire. If the Danes were conquered, Germany might rest, for a time, and recuperate, for no other power in the north would care to attack her.

Behind the Danish line of battle the king massed the conscript troops from Dietmarsh as a reserve, to come up fresh at a decisive moment. The archbishop's agents had been tampering with these troops, but with no apparent success—like Stanley at Bosworth Field, they made no promises.

In the rear of the German army some Wendish troops, led by their own prince, Burwin, also formed a reserve.

The armies rushed upon each other and fought desperately, and hand to hand from the onset. The Danish king gradually manœuvred until the Germans had the sun in their eyes, and, after more than four hours' sanguinary battle, in spite of young Adolf's great bravery and inspiring leadership, the Germans gave way on every side. Just as flight seemed to be degenerating into panic, it is said that Adolf flung himself from his horse, fell upon his knees in the midst of the troops and vowed that, if God and St. Mary Magdalene would grant him the victory, he would build a church in Hamburg to the honour of the Saint, and he would devote the rest of his own life to the service of God. As he rose to his feet many who were there say that Mary Magdalene was seen floating in the heavens, and not only did she extend her arms in blessing, and smile graciously, at the prospect of a new church, but she also personally conducted thick clouds which obscured the sun, thus enabling the Germans to see what otherwise their dazzled eyes might not have seen; and that was that at the moment when all appeared to be lost by the Germans, the Danish reserve, composed of Dietmarsh men, at a given signal, struck their swords on their shields, with a loud clash, shouted, "Death to the Danes!" and fell upon the rear of the unsuspecting victors.

Inspired by this sight the Germans, reinforced by the Wends, rallied, and the Danes, attacked both front and rear, were, in their turn, panic-stricken and fled in every direction. King

Waldemar himself, after having one eye shot out by an arrow, fell from his horse unconscious, but was picked up by a fleeing knight who flung him across his saddle-bow, and succeeded in carrying him to Kiel, whence he escaped in a ship to Zealand.

Thousands were killed on both sides, but the Danish loss was the greater, and included many prisoners, of whom the most conspicuous were the Duke of Lüneburg and three Danish bishops. The victors sung a *Te Deum* on the field of battle before burying the dead.

For centuries after this battle of Bornhöved, Saint Mary Magdalene's Day was held in special honour as a great feast-day in Hamburg, Lübeck, and all the country around.

Hamburg was rewarded by having all the grants made by Albert of Orlamünde renewed and confirmed; and Adolf IV. was reinstated in Holstein and Stormarn. He remembered his vow, made on the field of Bornhöved, but he was not yet able to fulfil it. He did, indeed, build a monastery for the Dominicans, who first came to Hamburg 1227, and he also founded a nunnery in the Steinstrasse, for the Beguins, or Blue Sisters, and a home for ten poor widows was endowed, and built in the Schauenburgerhof.

The Blue Sisters, a French order, occupied a high place in the affections of the people of Hamburg, and had numerous privileges. Among these was the right to give a last glass of beer to condemned prisoners on their way to execution. The abbess, a great personage, was entitled to be called "Ehrwürdiger Jungfer," when alive, and, when dead, to be buried in a coffin covered with velvet, and having silver feet. When the Reformation came, these sisters accepted the new doctrines, and consequently they still exist, though the site of the old convent, erected by Adolf IV., has long been built over, and the present building is near Wansbeck.

Adolf was obliged to continue governing his country for several years, while it was settling down and while his sons were growing. He had also once more to fight the Danish king—the very next year—after which they became friends. In this war the Danes were completely worsted, but, in the treaty of peace which followed, whilst giving up all castles still held by them in Germany, they demanded and received Count Albert von Orlamünde, who had been languishing for so long a time in the dungeons of Schwerin.

The peace was a real and lasting one, and, in 1237, the Danish prince Abel married Adolf's daughter Mechtilda.

Soon after, Adolf, his wife, and many prominent citizens of Hamburg joined in a crusade against the Heathen Slavs in Lievland (now a province of Russia). Prince Abel was left as regent, and faithfully and honourably governed the country during the count's three years' absence.

Soon after his return, Adolf, whose sons were now old enough to assume the government, abdicated, and, in order to comply with his vow, became a Franciscan monk, living in the St. Mary Magdalene monastery, which he himself had endowed. He made a barefoot pilgrimage to Rome, where the pope absolved him from his marriage vows. On his walk back to Hamburg he begged enough money to build a monastery at Kiel. He was admitted to the priesthood, and read his first mass in the chapel built by the Franciscans on the battle-field at Bornhöved. In 1245, he settled permanently at Hamburg, and died in the monastery there in 1261. As monk, he begged from house to house, often meeting his own sons on their prancing chargers, in all the splendour of mediæval royalty. Tradition says that on one occasion, when he was carrying a crock of milk which had been given him, he saw the young counts approach with a stately following, and, moved by a momentary sense of shame, he concealed his burthen beneath his gown. Remembering himself, however, he brought it out again, and just as the court reached him, he poured the milk over his own head as punishment.

Hamburg, grateful for his many services, erected a statue of Adolf IV. in 1821. A portrait of him, in full armour, hangs in the Magdalene monastery, and another portrait—dressed as a monk—is in the Johanneum, but both were painted many years after his death, and cannot be said to be likenesses.

Count Adolf's wife, the Countess Heilwig von der Lippe, founded a Cistercian nunnery where the suburb of St. Paul's now stands, and, following her husband's example, became a nun, and died there.

The government of Adolf's various lands was undertaken by his two sons, assisted by his son-in-law, Prince Abel, all of whom usually allowed Hamburg to do as she pleased.

CHAPTER IV

END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE city grew in wealth and importance in spite of many disadvantages, some of which it had in common with other towns and some of which were peculiar to herself. The citizens had contentions, at times with their own lords, at times with the powerful neighbouring dukes of Saxony and Brunswick. They had feuds with the smaller nobility of the vicinity. The roads were infested with robber knights, and the seas swarmed with pirates. The people of Dietmarsh, at the mouth of the Elbe, were often inimical, and attacked Hamburg ships in the river. At times they were involved in bitter disputes with their spiritual lord, archbishop of Bremen, and sometimes with their own cathedral chapter. Yet, despite all, they managed to increase their municipal importance. During the latter half of the thirteenth century they made numerous commercial and other treaties with other cities and even with sovereigns, entirely without reference to, or regard for, their liege lords.

Thus treaties were made with the Frisians, the Duke of Brunswick, Flanders, Brabant and England, and with the cities of Lübeck and Brunswick.

In 1245 war began between Holstein and Denmark, Prince Abel siding with Holstein. Hamburg sent fifty knights and many foot soldiers to help the counts, although they were at the same time making treaties as if they owed allegiance to no one.

In 1250 King Eric of Denmark again invaded Holstein. The counts, the archbishop of Bremen, and the cities of Lübeck and Hamburg opposed him. This time Prince Abel remained neutral. He was brother of the king and brother-in-law of the counts. King Eric visited him at his castle of Schleswig, hoping to induce him to take his part. A Danish knight with a grievance, named Lago Gudmundson, took a headsman with him, forced his way into the king's bedroom when he was in bed, and the headsman did his work with skill and dispatch. They carried the corpse away and flung it into the sea.

Prince Abel was suspected of complicity, but he swore solemnly before a gathering of archbishops and bishops that he was innocent, after which they crowned him King of Denmark, and he at once made peace with his brothers-in-law.

King Abel's reign lasted barely two years. His brother

Christopher, who succeeded him, reigned seven years, and was succeeded by Eric V., son of the murdered Eric IV. He was a minor, and his mother, Margaret, was regent. This singular and unfortunate lady had a great deal of jet-black hair, not only on her head but on her face also, and she was known as *Schwarze Grete*, or *Black Meg*.

Queen Margaret, who believed that King Abel had been privy to the death of her husband, refused to grant the duchy of Schleswig to his son, and a war began. The counts of Holstein aided their nephew. Hamburg again sent fifty knights and three hundred armed foot-soldiers, and Lübeck, because Denmark was more especially her enemy, sent twice as many.

On July 28, 1261, the battle of Lohheide was fought. The soldiers of Hamburg were conspicuously daring and, one writer says, especially cruel. The young King of Denmark, dressed in a costly purple mantle curiously decorated with needlework, and his heavily-bearded mother were captured by the Hamburgers, and, at the close of the battle, were led back to the city as prisoners, adorning the triumph of the returning victors. The king was handed over to the Margrave of Brandenburg, but his costly mantle and his mother, the queen regent, were detained. The queen was soon after ransomed, but the cloak was made into a splendid cope, which was for many hundred years worn by the archbishops at great functions in the Hamburg cathedral. It survived the Reformation, but has since disappeared.

Soon after this there was a kind of civil war caused by the regular clergy, headed by the chapter, trying to expel the begging friars who swarmed in the prosperous city and gathered in more money than the priests liked them to have. The citizens took sides, and many sanguinary brawls took place until the pope sent one Cardinal Laurentius, as legate, to settle the dispute.

Another little war, that between Hamburg and Bremen in 1259, was also brought about by the clergy. When Archbishop Gerhard II. died the chapter at Bremen elected Hildebold von Wunstorf to succeed him; but the Hamburg chapter chose Simon, bishop of Paderborn, who, during Gerhard's long illness, had ruled the province as coadjutor. The counts of Holstein sided with Simon, and the city of Bremen sided with her own chapter, as did Dietmarsh. War began, in which Hamburg suffered greatly, since her ships were attacked by Bremen on the high seas and by Dietmarsh in the Elbe. Much harm was also done to Hamburg on land by Otto von Barmstede, a powerful

vassal of the province. On the other hand, Hamburg and Holstein attacked Stade.

This unfortunate state of things lasted until 1267, when another papal legate, a Cardinal Guido, protector of Arnold of Brescia, succeeded in bringing about a peace. Hildebold, Bremen's choice, was recognized as archbishop, and Hamburg had to submit to heavy losses.

Two years later the senate and chapter of Hamburg were quarrelling among themselves. The clergy claimed freedom from taxation for all their buildings and possessions, and the right of jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to or affecting church or clergy. (Cavour had to meet the same claim nearly six hundred years later in Piedmont.) The city objected, and, after long wrangling, a compromise was agreed to, by which all churches, and the residences of members of the chapter, and the convents endowed by Adolf IV., were free; but all other possessions of the Church or clergy were taxed the same as if they belonged to laymen. The Church was also permitted to retain jurisdiction in disputes between members of the cathedral clergy, but all other disputes were to come before the secular courts. It was also agreed that a senator should be associated with the clergy in managing their money matters, in order that nothing dangerous to the interests of the city should be done.

The citizens gained much, but not all they wanted or claimed, and this was the beginning of frequent conflicts between town and gown.

When Giselbert succeeded Hildebold he declared that the clergy should have all their ancient privileges restored, and was very severe with the citizens. He did them all the harm he could whenever any of them or any of their property came under his jurisdiction, and he ordered his subjects living near the Elbe to treat them as enemies. One result was that Hamburg ships were frequently attacked and sometimes captured. The citizens, finding they were getting the worst of it, appealed to their nominal lords, and the counts of Holstein succeeded in pacifying the angry archbishop.

This happened in 1281, and that same year Hamburg met with a great disaster. She was once more burned to the ground. Tradition says that but one house which was not a church remained. For some unknown reason the counts of Holstein refused to sell any wood to the citizens, who were at their wits' end, not knowing how to rebuild their city, when the Count of Schwerin agreed to supply the necessary building material.

About this time the plague of robber knights became almost unbearable. Every road was infested and unsafe. The dukes would give no protection, and probably got their share of the spoil, whilst some leading nobles were the worst thieves.

The sea was no safer than the land, and pirates were as common, though not always so high-born, as highwaymen.

These noble thieves preferred attacking unarmed, or but slightly protected caravans, but they were sometimes bold enough to make raids into the city herself. The burghers, of course, defended themselves and their property as well as they could, and one senator, by name Dirck Wraks, was so able in defence of his property that he incurred the wrath of no less a person than the Duke of Saxony, who had suffered a loss of income as a result of Dirck's success. He sent word to the doughty senator to have a care and be on his guard, for he, the duke, had bought a rope with which he meant to hang him without grace whenever he caught him.

The plucky merchant bought a long and strong silver chain which he wore wound round and round his body, and he sent word that he carried a silver chain always with him, with which he proposed to hang the duke if he caught him, being fitter than hemp for so noble a thief. Despite these threats, both men lived long and died in their beds.

In the year 1285 Hamburg and Lübeck formed a confederacy, which was joined by the archbishop, the Wendish cities and the few honest noblemen of the vicinity. Their object was to put an end to the robberies and to render the highways safe. A good deal of serious work was accomplished. The whole diocese of Ratzeburg was a den of thieves, and it was taken possession of by the league. The castles of Walrade, Karbow, and half-a-dozen other similar strongholds, were captured and destroyed, and, for a very short time, the nuisance was abated.

About this time Hamburg and Lübeck joined in a punitive expedition against Norway, whose king had been ill-treating Germans. Some of the Baltic towns joined and helped to effectively blockade Norwegian ports, a course of action which soon compelled King Eric to come to an understanding with the towns. He paid a large sum for damages, and guaranteed protection to Germans in Norway for the future.

In 1286 Hamburg established and undertook to maintain a permanent beacon and lighthouse on the island of Hadeln. About this time the city sent an embassy to the pope, asking permission to establish a school in the Neustadt. Martin IV.

graciously gave permission to found and maintain a school there at the city's expense, and the school of St. Nicholas, which still exists, was the result.

The cathedral school regarded this as an infringement of its privileges, and the chapter tried to suspend, or entirely destroy, the new school. Much ill-feeling was stirred up; parties were formed, and the children in the different schools became enemies, having frequent fights and well-known war cries. If a Neustadt boy found himself beset by Altstadt lads, he cried, "St. Nicholas to the rescue!" Any other Neustadter hearing this cry would repeat it at the top of his voice, and partisans would come pouring in, shouting their war cry. The Altstadtters, meantime, would bellow, "St. Mary and St. Ansgar!" The battles became so frequent, so many men and women took part in them, and so many people were killed or badly injured, that the episode is known in the history of Hamburg as the "Schoolboys' War." It was finally put an end to by a formal treaty of peace between the senate and the chapter; but this did not take place until 1337, when the war had lasted fifty years, and caused much bloodshed and the loss of many lives.

In 1292 the Altstadt and Neustadt were united under one government and became a single city.

In 1289 the robber knights had again become very aggressive, and the highways were unsafer than ever. The noble family of Ripenburg was especially active in its thievery and cruel in its methods of robbery, mutilating and murdering merchants. The city of Lübeck sent out an expedition which surprised and destroyed the Ripenburg and captured the Baron Peter von Ripe, and hanged him because he was a thief and a murderer. His relative, Baron Herman von Ripe, a close friend and counsellor of Duke Albrecht II. of Saxon-Lauenburg, swore revenge and declared war against the towns. The duke, his master, gave him assistance, and he gathered together a great horde of noble thieves, who thought they saw prospects of much booty.

However, the duke and other thieves were disappointed. The cities of Hamburg, Lübeck, Lüneburg and Wismar formed a combination, and were joined by the princes of Mecklenburg. It was evident that the time was not propitious for the robbers, and they easily allowed themselves to be persuaded by Archbishop Giselbert to lay down their arms until they had a better chance.

In this same year the counts of Holstein gathered an army for the purpose of chastising the turbulent people of Dietmarsh,

and marched against them. As they were nearing that country the troops in advance saw a hare crossing the road in front of them, and shouted at him, "Lop, lop!" which meant, "Run, run!" Those who were behind took up the cry, and those still further behind, hearing the loud shouts of "Lop, lop!" believed the advice was intended for them, and began to act upon it. When those in front saw themselves thus suddenly deserted by those following them, they also began to run, and the whole army was soon in panic-stricken flight. The Dietmarsh troops, which now appeared, seeing their enemies running, pursued, and a massacre ensued. This affair is known as the Hare War.

The counts of Holstein—there were always two at a time now—feeling themselves deeply humiliated by this fiasco, and feeling that they had been made ridiculous in the eyes of the world, blamed some of their vassal nobles and banished them from Holstein. These banished barons crossed the Elbe and took service with the Duke of Saxony, and thus largely increased the noble army of thieves.

Merchants and their wares were regarded as legitimate prey, and were nowhere safe. Neither Church nor State afforded them any protection. On all sides Hamburg was encompassed by bands of most powerful robbers. Her commerce, which the enterprise and energy of her citizens was fostering and spreading in every direction, was openly attacked by Scandinavians and pirates on the seas; and by the nobility and chivalry, on all sides throughout Germany, who despised the citizen merchants and their ways, called them shopkeepers and stole everything of theirs on which they could lay hands.

This was the state of affairs with Hamburg and with the other commercial towns of Germany at the close of the thirteenth century.

During that century the city had grown greatly in importance and freedom. To a great extent she had thrown off the yoke of Holstein and assumed the control of her own destinies. She had adopted her own code of laws—one of the oldest in Germany—and she had evolved her own system of government. Before the consolidation the Altstadt was governed by a council or senate of twenty members, elected in a peculiar manner. Each year the existing twenty chose sixteen senators for the following year, fourteen of whom must already have been senators, and two must be new men. These sixteen then chose four more, taken from the twenty of the current year. There must, therefore, always be at least four members of the last year's

senate in each new one, and fourteen others who had sat in the senate in previous years, and, consequently, had experience in governing, and there must always be a small percentage of new men.

The new members were, as a matter of fact, only chosen from families of the senator or consular class, although, nominally, the only men in the city not eligible were serfs, bastards, artisans and persons possessing no property within the city walls.

The twenty senators chose two burgomasters from among themselves.

This system resulted in making a civic aristocracy, composed of a number of wealthy families, whose men became accustomed to the business of governing the city. These families regarded themselves, and were regarded by their humbler fellow-citizens, as aristocrats. Some of them had coats-of-arms. Many had taken part in crusades or other wars of the period. Most of them had a certain amount of education in the way of reading Latin and German, writing and keeping accounts, and most of them had travelled into foreign countries. Their young men were trained in all the sports and athletic accomplishments of young princes, and some of them were knighted. But to the ignorant and haughty nobles of the surrounding country, who could neither read nor write, they were nothing but "Krämer." And they, in their turn, looked down upon their retail fellow-citizens and others who had not attained to senatorial rank. They were practically compelled to marry among themselves, so that the patrician caste in Hamburg—and in most large, old commercial towns of Germany—was, and even still is, as curiously intermarried and connected as is the royal caste of Europe.

In addition to her right of self-government, Hamburg, during this century, had gained the right of coining money, and the monopolies of salt, wine and butchering, and had her own standard weights and measures and municipal weigh-houses. Wine could only be obtained from the city cellar under the Rathaus, and thus the Rathskeller assumed here and elsewhere a central and important part in civic life.

The city judges tried all cases of all kinds, but the counts' court was the final court of appeal until 1292, when the two reigning counts voluntarily transferred that right also to the city.

When the two towns, Altstadt and Neustadt, consolidated, the number of senators was increased to thirty, including six

burgomasters, but one-third of these were old senators, free from the necessity of attending ordinary meetings and from all routine duty, and only called upon for their advice and experience in emergencies.

The citizens were no longer liable for military service to either count or emperor, but only to the city, which was thus early assuming the sovereign position she held for so long.

CHAPTER V

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

THE merchants were at this period the leaven of civilization in northern Germany. Most of them had at least more book-learning than the ordinary priest. They had travelled and seen something of the world. They had a higher standard of honesty than the rest of the people, and they had evolved a code or codes of law and justice (in advance of the age) which they endeavoured to enforce.

The people of the lower classes, who owed to these patricians their personal freedom and all of the very numerous privileges which townspeople enjoyed, but were unknown to peasants, who were serfs or slaves, were beginning to be restive and disloyal to the upper classes of townsfolk.

The great ecclesiastics had a certain amount of education, often very little, but sometimes they were scholars, sometimes jurists of ability; but they were usually younger sons of the great nobles, and the nobles, both great and small, were, with few exceptions, from the emperors down, dishonest, cruel, untruthful, and noted for their boorishness, even in their own time, throughout Europe. Witness the horrible cruelties of German nobles of Henry VI. or Otto IV., or even of the polished Frederick II.



FORTIFIED LIGHTHOUSE AT
NEUWERK

When studying this period it is most exceptional to find either priest or noble who hesitated to perjure himself or to rob his neighbour. The merchants, on the other hand, kept each other in order. They were obliged to be honest in their dealings with each other, and they gained an excellent reputation for being upright men of their word, and were known as such in the markets of Bruges and London, where they had large dealings.

Owing to the low state of civilization, the difficulties of the merchants constantly became greater. On land Hamburg was surrounded by thieves, and every train of goods—laden wagons or mules—had to be guarded by strong bodies of armed men; and often an army was necessary for protection, as a dozen nobles would join their forces and, after overpowering the guard, would divide the spoil.

Nor were the unfortunate merchants safer on the waters. Many noblemen and adventurers had taken to piracy, but Hamburg had her own particular enemy in the people of Dietmarsh, living along the Elbe near its mouth, who claimed and exercised an hereditary right to prey upon Hamburg shipping.

More than once this claim had been the cause of war, but the evil did not abate.

In 1299 the city built a tower at Neuwerk to aid in protecting her commerce. There was a treaty between Hamburg and Dietmarsh, made after the latter had been defeated in battle, by the terms of which any persons guilty of piracy were to be punished, and in 1304 the city demanded the enforcement of this clause. In reply the government of Dietmarsh issued a proclamation that all persons found guilty of preying upon Hamburg ships should be executed and their goods confiscated.

A copy of this proclamation was sent to Hamburg, but gave little satisfaction, because the piracy continued as actively as ever. The senate lost patience, and the next time some of the Dietmarshers were captured, instead of holding them for ransom, the senate hanged them as pirates taken in the act.

Dietmarsh was at once in an uproar. Some of her leading people had thus lost their lives whilst pursuing their hereditary avocations. The leading families cried out for war. The majority of the people, especially those living inland, favoured peace, but the noble families, in whose hands the profitable business of wrecking or robbing Hamburg ships had been for centuries, insisted upon having revenge.

However, owing to pressure brought to bear by the Arch-

bishop of Bremen and to the boycotting of Dietmarsh by all traders, a peace was patched up, and for a short time there was less piracy.

Those nobles of Holstein who, after the unfortunate Hare War, had been banished by the counts had formed a league, the purpose of which was to do as much harm as possible to the count or to the cities which stood by him, or to the archbishop, who was also his ally. The enterprise of the members of this league was so great that the archbishop raised an army, and, aided by the counts of Holstein, the city of Hamburg, and the Dukes of Saxony and of Lüneburg, attacked and defeated it. Many of its members were slain, but the survivors hated the count and Hamburg more than ever.

In this expedition the senate of Hamburg took the side of the counts of Holstein, and did all that it could to lessen the power of the robbers, who, curiously enough, were in favour with the lower classes. It is impossible to say why this was so, since when the merchants lost their goods the people were not benefited in the least, and if the robbers got hold of any of the citizens who were unable to pay ransom they made serfs of them. However, the fact remains that the senate prepared fifty great wagons of provisions to send to the count's army, and the mob attacked and destroyed them all.

In 1306 the Dietmarshers and a number of peasants from the marshlands joined the robber knights in an attack on the counts. They formed an army, and, entrenching themselves between Hamburg and Lübeck, captured all goods that came in either direction. The counts attacked them, and after a long fight defeated them. Many Dietmarshers were killed, and the peasant leaders were treated as highwaymen, being tortured and hanged. The nobles fled to Lübeck, which was at that time on bad terms with the count because he had built a castle near the mouth of the Trave. The city received and protected the robbers, partly to annoy Holstein, partly out of cupidity, as the fugitives offered a large sum for protection. The act was a dark blot on the Lübeck annals.

The exiled nobles continued their war, which they were able to do, as they lived by plunder; but the count, owing to the necessity of constantly keeping an army in pay, was nearly bankrupt, and in order to raise funds sold to the city of Hamburg most of his remaining privileges and possessions in or near the city.

To aggravate the situation a family quarrel of a bitter nature

now distracted the count's family. The history of it is a sordid one of wrangling and violence, hard to understand and not worth telling: Count Adolf the elder and Count Gerhard V. fighting openly with Count Gerhard II. because of some inheritance; Count Christoph thrown from a window of the castle of Kiel and killed; Count Adolf VI. secretly murdered in the castle of Segeburg by one of the Raventlows, supposed to be the tool of other members of the family; Count John II. imprisoned in the dungeons of his own castle of Kiel; and Count Günzel and another Adolf captured by a Count Gerhard and placed in the dungeons of the Segeburg. This state of affairs exactly suited the robber nobles, who rebuilt their castles and made the highways more insecure than ever.

In 1319 Count Gerhard, the rightful head of the house, made an effort to bring a little order into his dominions. The Dietmarshers, taking advantage of the confusion, had overrun all Holstein. The count now gathered a considerable force and drove the turbulent Dietmarshers before him. He had a number of his leading neighbours with him, men with distinguished names and always ready to fight, such as his brothers John and Giselbert of Holstein, Duke John of Saxony and Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, with the Counts of Wunstorp, Ruppín and Gutzkow.

The enemy was defeated and scattered. Some of the fugitives sought refuge in the church of Oldenwörden, which was surrounded. After vainly trying to take the church by storm, Count Gerhard piled wood around it and set it on fire. The prisoners tried to make terms of some kind, but were refused by Holstein, who said he had use for the lands of Dietmarsh, but not for its people. Meantime the fire began to melt the leaden roof, which poured down, making the church untenable, and the prisoners determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible and die fighting. Suddenly they made an unexpected sortie, bursting through the burning faggots, and calling upon each other to kill as many Holsteiners as possible before dying.

The count and his army unexpectedly found themselves attacked by a handful of desperate men. A fierce fight took place, the noise of which reached the ears of a number of straggling Dietmarshers who had collected together again, and who now rushed up and attacked Holstein in the rear. Other small groups came running to the fight. There seemed no end to the reinforcements, and panic took possession of the Holsteiners—who had good reason to dread the Dietmarshers—and

they took to flight, but were cut to pieces. Count Gerhard himself and Count Henry of Mecklenburg escaped, but all the other leaders and most of the men were killed. Holstein had once more learned that the only safe Dietmarsher was a dead one.

Affairs in Holstein were naturally no better after this. Hamburg was faithful to her overlord, but Count Gerhard had few other friends, even in his own family, and the condition of the country was chaotic. The nobles had little to depend upon for their livelihood save what they could steal, and the count was powerless to prevent or punish.

Twenty years after Count Gerhard's defeat by the Dietmarshers the state of confusion and insecurity had become such that a great confederacy was formed for the purpose of restoring peace and order. Hamburg and Lübeck, the Dukes Wolgast, Lauenburg, Stettin, Saxony and Brunswick, the Princes of Mecklenburg and Wendenland, the Archbishop of Bremen and the Counts of Holstein, Ruppin and Schwerin all united in declaring that order must be restored and the turbulent punished. This was in 1339, and a slight improvement resulted in some parts, but not in Holstein, where the count was quite unable to make any headway against his nobles, and consequently Hamburg and Lübeck undertook to protect their own interests in that country. This interference offended two of the three counts, Gerhard's sons, who were reigning jointly. Count John, the third, was satisfied, and assisted the cities by lending them the Segeburg as a base for their troops, from which punitive expeditions were frequently despatched against the robber nobles.

The two counts Henry and Klaus deeply resented this action of their brother, but they dissembled. After a time they paid the Segeburg a visit and were hospitably entertained; but in the night they surprised and imprisoned the garrison.

Hamburg and Lübeck complained of this outrage to the Emperor Ludwig, who sent his marshal, Friedrich von Lochen, with 200 knights, who, joining the troops of the two cities, ravaged the already desolated land of Holstein, burning, pillaging and destroying. The King of Sweden took up the cause of Holstein, and suddenly imprisoned and held to ransom all citizens of Hamburg or Lübeck within his dominions. As there was a great trade with Sweden and many merchants were there with their ships, this was a heavy blow, which was by no means compensated for by the cities taking possession of all Swedish goods they could find.

Marshal von Lochen determined to deal the enemy a serious

blow, and sailed with a fleet to Schonen, where at that time, when the herrings came each year, merchants flocked from all parts of the Baltic and held a great fair. It was one of the most important places for trade in the north. Pouncing suddenly upon Schonen, in the midst of the herring season, the marshal surprised and took prisoner all the Swedes, Danes and Holsteiners he could find and confiscated their property. The prisoners were carried to Lübeck, and were eventually exchanged for the Germans who had been captured in Sweden. The marshal then went back to the emperor laden with booty.

The feud between the cities and Holstein continued. Holstein was the scene of innumerable skirmishes, and had become a desert; whilst the ships belonging to Hamburg and Lübeck were frequently attacked from the castles and villages along the coasts. Nominally peace was made in 1343, but there was no security for life or property anywhere.

Even on the south-western side of Hamburg, between that city and Lüneburg, the nobles were nearly all robbers, and for a time Duke Erich of Saxony was their leader. Duke Albert of Saxony resented his cousin's conduct and attacked him, inflicting severe punishment—on his people. Duke Albert died in 1344, but Otto, duke of Lüneburg, invaded Duke Erich's lands and completely destroyed his castle of Darsing, which was the headquarters of the ducal gang and the home of the Scharpenbergs, who were its worst members.

In 1346 the war with the barons in Holstein again became active, and Count Gerhard and Hamburg made a united campaign against them, destroying several of their strongholds and driving a large number out of the country. These fugitives joined the Scharpenbergs who had been driven from Saxony and took refuge in Mecklenburg, where they established headquarters, from which they raided all the country for many miles around, being protected by Albert, duke of Mecklenburg, despite the angry protests of his neighbours.

About this time Duke Erich of Saxony appears to have experienced a change of heart, as he joined Hamburg and Lübeck in 1351 when they invaded Mecklenburg, captured Neuenkirchen, set free a large number of merchants who were held there for ransom, and hung all the noble defenders. They also destroyed six less important castles and further chastened the nobility.

The next year Hamburg sent 1000 men and Lübeck sent 1,500, all well armed, who took and razed the notorious castle of

Linow; and in 1354 the two cities destroyed six more castles, and hung all the barons and knights who were found in them. There was much angry protesting against this ignoble treatment, but there was a perceptible increase in the public security.

In addition to all these troubles with her neighbours, Hamburg was not harmonious at home. The enmity between the patricians and plebeians did not become as acute as it did in Bremen about this time, but it was always an unpleasant fact, ready to crystallise into insurrection, as we saw in the destruction of the supplies intended for the Count of Holstein's army.

There was also strife between the clergy and the senate. The chapter, led by an ambitious provost, undertook to exercise certain rights of jurisdiction which had been in abeyance for more than a century, and the senate refused to have them revived, or to revert to the ancient system by which clergy and all matters connected with them could only be tried by ecclesiastical courts. The chapter persisted, and was met by the most stubborn resistance on the part of the city; whereupon, in 1335, the whole chapter left Hamburg, after solemnly excommunicating the senate and all the citizens, and forbidding all clergy to administer any of the sacraments of the Church to them.

The Franciscan monks, however, who were never on good terms with the cathedral clergy, and who lived very independently in the monastery of St. Mary Magdalene, refused to comply with this order, and Mass was said and the sacraments were administered very much as usual.

Archbishop Burchard tried to make peace, but the chapter would not hear of compromise and appealed to the pope, who promptly decided in their favour. Hamburg simply ignored the decision, as the senate had no intention of again falling under clerical rule, from which it had slowly and with difficulty escaped.

The cathedral dignitaries carried the matter before the Emperor Carl IV., and again received a favourable verdict, to which the city paid no attention, declaring that on this matter nothing could induce her to yield. At length, after twenty years of self-banishment, the chapter gave in, removed the ban and returned to Hamburg. This was a remarkable victory for the senate, considering the tremendous power of the Church in the fourteenth century, and that in this instance the city had decisions of both pope and emperor against her.

It was during the latter part of this period of excommunication that the plague ravaged the land. It appeared in Germany 1349, and raged for four years without a check. It is thought to have been the same disease which, under the name of bubonic plague, now usually prevails in parts of Asia.

In the fourteenth century the personal habits of Europeans were not cleanly. The simplest sanitary rules were unknown, and the condition of the towns, both indoors and out of doors, must have been abominable, from a modern point of view. Any one who remembers the primitive condition of many German cities in the middle of the nineteenth century can have a faint idea of what they must have been five hundred years before.

When the pestilence came upon these carefully prepared hotbeds of disease it thrived amazingly.

There are no statistics of this period in Hamburg, but probably, judging from those of other towns and from tradition, about half the people died from the disease or fright. The ships lay idle, tied up to the shores, for lack of men to load them or sailors to manage them. The streets were empty, and the people died too fast to be decently buried, for the labourers were few.

This terrible visitation had the good effect of, for a time, stopping the attacks of the nobles upon the citizens and their property, and it doubtless had something to do with the final submission of the clergy.

In 1358, however, the robberies on the highways and high seas had again become so serious that Hamburg sent the dean as ambassador to the emperor to complain and ask for assistance. Carl IV. gave this in a decree depriving all knights of their knighthood who were found guilty of robbery, and authorizing the city of Hamburg to pursue and punish all robbers by sea or land.

In 1361 came the war between the Hansa and Denmark, which was more especially a part of the history of Lübeck; but Hamburg ships and men took part in the first disastrous expedition of that war, and also in the successes which came in the next few years, which resulted in seventy-seven towns of the Hanseatic League declaring the deposition of Waldemar, King of Denmark (who was at that time at peace with the empire), and only allowing him to retain his throne after submitting to their humiliating terms.

While Hamburg and the whole Hanseatic League was engaged in this war with the Scandinavian kingdoms, Count Adolf VII. of Holstein made a demand for what he called his

hereditary rights within the city. This was, in fact, an effort to regain all the powers once exercised by the counts of Holstein, and which the city had purchased little by little, as the needs or the good nature of the counts had induced them to part with them.

Count Adolf claimed, among other things, the right of holding courts of appeal, of coining, weighing, money-changing, milling, selling wine, and the fisheries. He asked to have these restored to him, as well as numerous estates which had belonged to his ancestors and of which he claimed the city had wrongfully taken possession. He also demanded that Hamburg should refund all the income she had received from these estates or in consequence of exercising these privileges.

This demand went up to the emperor, who appointed Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg to hear the case at Lübeck. The city was duly represented, but objected to the duke because he was an interested party, being the father-in-law of the Count of Holstein, to whom he gave a verdict granting everything he claimed. Hamburg's appeal from this decision resulted in an imperial edict ordering the count to cease his efforts, and shortly after, probably induced by some financial consideration, he formally withdrew his claims and recognized all the city's rights.

Twelve years later four counts of Holstein, in 1368, made another attempt to blackmail the city, but met with no success.

In 1375 the people were very restless and complained of excessive taxation and extravagant expenditure by the senate. Public meetings were held, and they demanded that the tax for the Hanseatic League should be reduced fifty per cent. All the trade guilds or unions, excepting those of the shopkeepers, butchers, chandlers and herring-washers, joined in this demand. Those four guilds, together with the chamber of commerce, undertook the part of peacemakers, and succeeded in preventing the trouble from becoming serious.

The following year, when the Emperor Carl IV. visited Lübeck, Hamburg sent ambassadors begging to be released from the overlordship of the counts of Holstein and to be made a free city of the empire, like Lübeck. The counts protested, and the matter was argued before the emperor personally. He decreed that the city must continue to recognize the suzerainty of Holstein, but the counts must recognize and confirm all the existing privileges of the city. Hamburg submitted, and a wooden statue of Roland, which had been erected on one of the

bridges as a symbol of municipal sovereignty, was dragged away and burned by the populace.

Owing to the numerous internal disputes which occupied the cities at this time, the robber nobles again became aggressive; and in 1368 Hamburg, Lübeck and Holstein made a very successful war upon them, defeating a large body of robbers at Oldensloe, capturing and killing nearly all of them. The result was that for a number of years there was comparative security on the roads in Holstein.

But the seas were more unsafe than ever, swarming with freebooters and pirates. Many Scandinavians, Germans and especially Frisians adopted this mode of life.

There had been wrangling for several years between the Hanseatic League and the Flemings—particularly the city of Bruges—and the Germans had entirely withdrawn their trade from Bruges. This had so damaged Bruges in particular and Flanders in general that that haughty and domineering city in 1391 joined with Ghent and Ypres and Burgundy and Flanders in sending an embassy to Hamburg, where, after long discussions, a treaty was signed which was very satisfactory to the members of the Hansa. By it the League agreed to restore its trade to the Flemings, who on their part were to pay the Germans £11,000 indemnity. Also 100 of the most prominent Flemings were publicly to beg pardon of the representatives of the Hansa, at the Carmelite monastery in Bruges; and forty Flemish pilgrims were to go to Rome, forty to Compostella, and four to the Holy Sepulchre, by way of penance.

In addition, all the high contracting parties joined in a grand

thief-hunt, or an expedition against robbers in general and the noble family of von Lappen in particular. These latter occupied as headquarters the castle of Ritzebüttel, on the Frisian coast,



RITZEBÜTTEL ANNO 1564.

near the present harbour of Cuxhaven, whence they engaged in

a very extensive, lucrative and systematic business of piracy, being allied with all of the most dangerous freebooters of the time. Hamburg had made an unsuccessful effort to suppress Ritzebüttel in 1372, and since then it had become the recognized capital and headquarters of piracy.

In 1393 the allies joined in a very powerful expedition, which stormed and captured the castle, but the von Lappens escaped. Their power, however, was broken, and seven years later they formally deeded the castle of Ritzebüttel with the surrounding lands to the city of Hamburg, who paid them 2000 marks silver.

Ritzebüttel was one of the most important strongholds of the terrible Vitalian brothers, the most dangerous gang of pirates that ever infested the northern seas, and who for many years were the chief enemies of Bremen, Hamburg and Lübeck.

CHAPTER VI

THE VITALIAN BROTHERS

THE Vitalian brothers were the most famous and most successful band of pirates which ever sailed the northern seas. They sprang from a company of blockade-runners, who attempted, more or less successfully, to supply the city of Stockholm, when besieged by Queen Margaret, with food and other necessities. They were known as the Victualling brethren, afterwards shortened to Vitalian brothers. When the treaty known as the Calmar Union ended the siege—in 1395—these blockade-runners, accustomed to risking their lives and defying the authorities, took possession of the island of Gothland and made their headquarters in the ruined city of Wisby, whence they carried on a wholesale business of piracy.

For years they ravaged the shipping and the coasts of the Baltic, and, extending their enterprises, made business arrangements with the robber nobles of the coasts of Germany and Frisia, so that they had safe harbours of refuge at Ritzebüttel and Emden, and thus were able to do as much damage, or more, to the commerce of the North Sea as they were doing in the Baltic.

They preyed upon English, French, German, Dutch, Scandinavian and Spanish ships, and especially along the coast between the Elbe, the Weser and the Rhine.

In 1398 the Teutonic knights, under their grand master, Konrad von Jungingen, drove the brothers out of Gothland, but they took refuge elsewhere, and for years the Hanseatic League was compelled to send out frequent expeditions to seek to punish those formidable buccaneers, who were the most powerful and relentless robbers in the world. The early pirates of the famed Jomsburg were really vikings, and the Jomsburg was the training school in which most of the princes and great nobles of Scandinavia and northern Germany were trained as soldiers, sailors and adventurers. Its graduates conquered France, England, the western isles, Iceland, Greenland and Vinland. Many of them sat on the thrones of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and some of their descendants still sit on thrones. They invaded foreign lands and waged war with nations. No doubt if they met a merchant ship they would capture it and be glad, but that was not what they went down to the seas to do. Conquest, rather than plunder, was their object. Foreign policy, not felony, was their guiding principle.

The Vitalian brothers, on the other hand, were vulgar pirates, water thieves, murderers, with no redeeming features, yet about whom a certain atmosphere of romance has clung, as it has clung about the freebooters of the Caribbean islands and the Spanish mainland. Their fame was so great that rogues and desperadoes flocked from all parts of northern Europe to join them. They took themselves very seriously, and perhaps regarded theirs as a legitimate, yet extra hazardous, business which they, at any rate, took care to insure by gaining the sanction of the Church. Two knights and eight men-at-arms joined in paying to have a daily mass said for the benefit of the Vitalian brothers, in Stockholm; and in Verden the two most eminent pirates gave twelve fine windows to the cathedral and endowed a periodical distribution of bread to the poor.

Yet the world at large refused to look upon them as worthy of honour, and, when their plundering had gone on for some time, growing as it went, until it culminated in the capture and looting of Bergen, the Teutonic knights declared war, and, as we have seen, drove them from their headquarters at Wisby.

Several of the Frisian chieftains received them with open arms. The city of Stralsund defeated one of their fleets, and captured and hung one hundred and thirty of them, including their captain, von Moltke; but a new leader was found named Godeke von Michelsen, and new headquarters were established in Heligoland. Michelsen's chief captains were Wichmann,

Wigboldt, and, above all, Klaus Stortebecher, whose fame soon outshone all others.

Stortebecher is said to have been a nobleman from Verden. He was brave, unscrupulous and enormously strong. He took part in numerous wars on land, and was knighted; but he squandered his patrimony in riotous living, and then took to



KLAUS STORTEBECHER

robbery as a means of livelihood. During a debauch in Hamburg he was arrested and, after investigation, his knightly spurs were stripped from him and he was turned out of the city. He fled to the coast and joined the Vitalians, who soon recognized his worth and placed him in command, second only to Michelsen. In Friesland he met the beautiful daughter of the famous chieftain Keno Ten Broek. There seems to have been love at first sight followed almost immediately by marriage,

after which his wife accompanied him on nearly all his expeditions, and, it is said that, after she joined the brothers, no quarter was ever shown to prisoners. Those who had friends or relatives on shore willing and able to pay heavy ransoms were sometimes spared, all others were thrown into the sea unless they were young and strong and willing to become pirates. In such cases a vast jug, or becher, of wine or beer was brought in, and if the candidate could empty it at one draught, he was accepted as a recruit, otherwise he was thrown overboard. From this peculiar custom of initiation the nickname of Stortebecher was derived.

For four years longer, from 1398 to 1402, the pirates prospered and were the terror of the seas and the coasts, even as far as Spain. From a Spanish convent, which they sacked, they brought much gold and some precious relics of St. Vincent. The gold was all divided among the brethren, but the relics were taken by Stortebecher and Michelsen, who always wore them about their persons, believing that they were thereby protected from all wounds.

Stortebecher was famous for his vast physical strength, and many terrible tales were told of him throughout the country; while the distinguishing characteristic of Michelsen was the astonishing quickness with which he moved from place to place, giving him a reputation for ubiquity.

In 1400 a Hamburg fleet, under Senator Albert Schreye, attacked and defeated several pirate ships off the Frisian coast, and captured Emden, thus bringing Stortebecher's father-in-law to a realizing sense of his sins. Later in the year there was another fight, in which eighty pirates were killed and thirty were captured and taken to Hamburg, where they were properly hanged.

The indignation in pirate circles was very great. Only a year later pirates swarmed in the river Weser, where a Hamburg fleet found them and fought them, and carried off seventy-three of them, who were hanged in Hamburg.

The pirates retorted by proclaiming that hereafter no quarter should be shown; but, as they had shown none before, it mattered little. After these reverses the two leaders seemed maddened, and their depredations were more constant and terrible than ever.

In 1402 a new expedition was fitted out against these corsairs, whose audacity was such that they had taken their fleet to the mouth of the Elbe and captured all the ships coming from

or going to Hamburg. The senate secretly prepared a small fleet under the command of Burgomaster Niclaus Schocke. The largest vessel in this fleet was called *Die bunte Kuh*—"the Brindled Cow"—and was commanded by a young man named Simon von Utrecht. The night before the expedition sailed a pilot named Peter Krützfeldt rowed out in the dark and tampered with the rudder of Stortebecher's flagship, the *Mad Dog*, so that she could not answer her helm.

The pirate fleet was lying off Heligoland, expecting no attack and waiting for a fleet of trading ships about to sail from Hamburg for England, full of rich booty, which they expected to have no difficulty in capturing. Instead, came this fleet of Hamburgers keen for battle. The great *Brindled Cow* made



HAMBURG MAN-OF-WAR

straight for the *Mad Dog*, which could not be manœuvred, because of her rudder; but Wichmann's ship, seeing this, sailed in between and fired a broadside at the *Cow*. The *Mad Dog* also got in a broadside, but the *Cow* got to close quarters, between the two, and fired a double broadside which did great damage. She then charged, bow on, into Wichmann's ship, completely wrecking her and leaving her to drift.

Meantime, Stortebecher, on his *Mad Dog*, was raking the *Cow* with his guns, until Simon von Utrecht got in a second broadside at close quarters and then lay alongside, grappled and boarded the *Mad Dog*. A terrible hand-to-hand fight ensued. Simon and Stortebecher met and fought. The latter's enormous strength was met by superior suppleness and skill.

When both swords were broken, and their axes dropped, they grasped each other in a death struggle. Both were very nearly exhausted, but von Utrecht was underneath and getting the worst of it, when two of his friends, who had successfully disposed of their special opponents, saw the struggle, and, pouncing on Stortebecher, had him overpowered and tied up before they realized who he was or that their own captain was underneath. St. Vincent's relics had done their work. Stortebecher had no wounds, but had been captured unhurt, though out of breath.

Meanwhile, the other Hamburg ships had attacked the other pirate craft, and had done good work. Some small vessels were taken and two large frigates, commanded by Michelsen, finding the enemy too strong for them, sailed away and, owing to their superior fleetness, soon escaped. Wichmann's ship, which had been disabled by the *Brindled Cow*, was fired at and sunk by the other ships. Only a few of the crew escaped, but Wichmann himself was one of those picked up alive.

A great deal of booty was taken, a great many pirates were killed, but the main thing was that the famous, invulnerable Stortebecher and some seventy of his chief men were prisoners.

The Hamburg fleet sailed back to the city, carrying the two famous leaders and many of their men. The citizens went wild with joy. They could hardly believe that the terrible Stortebecher was really in their power.

That individual himself found it hard to realize. He is said to have offered to pay vast sums to the senate as ransom, but no government would have dared to let him go. He and Wichmann and their comrades were all beheaded. We do not know what became of Stortebecher's cruel wife.

Michelsen and Wigboldt had escaped. The former was a nobleman of Verden, the latter a Master of Philosophy from the University of Rostock, who had taken to evil ways.

It was but a few weeks before the fleet was repaired and refitted and sent out again to search for the freebooters, and again the *Brindled Cow* was the centre of interest. The Hamburgers tracked the pirates to their lair, and there fought and annihilated them. The two remaining chiefs and eighty others were taken alive, chiefly because of Simon von Utrecht's skill and courage, and they were all executed in Hamburg. So this was the end of the Vitalian brothers.

The city honoured Simon von Utrecht, who long continued to help fight her battles at sea. When he was an old man he

was made honorary burgomaster, and it is said that he is the only honorary burgomaster Hamburg ever had. He was buried in 1437 in the Church of St. Nicholas, where his bronze monument is still to be seen. Sometime after his death the greedy Church authorities discovered that his grave had not been purchased in perpetuity, and, despite its being the last resting-place of the city's greatest naval hero, they sold it for one hundred and fifty marks to a lawyer named Kellinghusen, who had more respect for the great man, and who thus contributed to the shameless rapacity of the Church in order to preserve this shrine of patriotism from desecration.

The silver cup from which Stortebecher drank, with scenes from his adventures engraved on it, and large enough to hold four bottles of wine, is said to be still in existence.

CHAPTER VII

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

AFTER the destruction of the Vitalian brothers Hamburg was very active, during the next few years, in putting an end to Frisian piracy and in bringing about a *modus vivendi* between the Frisians and the Dutch. In 1407 the representatives of Hamburg and of Frisia met at Whitsuntide, and met again in Amsterdam on St. John's Day.

Keno Ten Broek, Stortebecher's father-in-law, appeared as the penitent in ashes, offering to aid the League in putting down those wicked Frisians who aided and abetted the pirates. Peace was arranged between Count William of Holland and the people of West Frisia. The people of East Frisia refused to pay the sum demanded by the League as indemnity for the damage done by the Vitalian brothers, who had had their headquarters at Frisian ports. The Hanseatic troops, aided by Keno Ten Broek, overran their country and brought them to terms. West Frisia acknowledged the counts of Holland as their rulers, but East Frisia had all its strong places destroyed and several of the chieftains overthrown, only the wily Ten Broek received four important estates as reward and promised to keep the lands between the Weser and Ems free from pirates, and open to the Hanseatic troops whenever desired. A treaty to this effect was signed on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1408.

The East Frisians rose against Keno Ten Broek in 1409, but Burgomaster Meinhard Buxtehude led the brave Hamburg troops into the country and put down the insurrection.

During these same early years of the century Hamburg had to fight the people of Dietmarsh, who, living at the mouth of the Elbe, made a practice of plundering every Hamburg ship they could capture. In 1403 the Duke of Schleswig, the Count of Holstein and the city of Stade combined to give Dietmarsh a lesson. The Count of Holstein's father-in-law, Duke Erich of Lauenburg, made a raid through Dietmarsh, burning and plundering, and escaped through Holstein. Hamburg and Lübeck were appealed to by Dietmarsh, and they tried to bring about an understanding, in vain. The Holstein nobility demanded war, they meant once for all to put an end to the overbearing insolence of the Dietmarsh peasants. Holstein built a castle called Marienburg in Dietmarsh, and Count Albert of Holstein led an army into the country, which was defeated at Norderhamme in September 1403. Albert himself was thrown from his horse and died of his injuries.

Burning with hate, and lusting for revenge, Duke Gerhard VI. led the flower of his nobles against the Dietmarshers, and, on August 4, 1404, met with a terrible repulse. The duke himself, more than three hundred noblemen and great numbers of the common people were killed.

The senate of Hamburg had wished to take part with the Holsteiners against the Dietmarshers, but the people were on the other side, and much trouble resulted. The popular ill-will smouldered and grew until it broke out in 1410. In that year the Duke John of Saxon-Lauenburg visited Hamburg, and was annoyed by the somewhat strenuous efforts made by a citizen named Brand to collect a debt which the duke owed him. Brand had lent the money to the duke, who refused to pay it, and Brand arranged to have him met over and over again on the street, and payment demanded. He even lost his temper and used strong language to the duke in person. When that sovereign reached home he sent a complaint to the senate, who had Brand arrested and brought to trial. Brand said he thought people should be careful to keep their word when sworn to—meaning the duke—but need not be particular about words used in anger or excitement—meaning himself. The senate sent Brand to the Winsen Tower to reflect, allowing no bail. The people rose in anger and demanded of the chief burgomaster that he should release Brand. That gentleman stated

that he had no power to do so, but he called the senate together, and again the mob demanded Brand's instant release. The senate yielded, and Brand was released, and the council declared that he might continue at liberty until his case had been brought in proper form before a court of law.

The insurgents, encouraged by this success, met the next day in the St. Mary Magdalene monastery and chose a committee of sixty, and this committee, at once, went to the senate and summoned Hein Brand before them. The complaint from the duke was shown to them, several witnesses were examined, and it was proved that the duke owed Brand a large sum of money. The sixty declared Brand had been illegally imprisoned, without proper trial; this, they told the senate, must never occur again, and they also presented a few other orders to that body, some of which were very unpleasant to the senators. In Lübeck, the old governing body had recently been driven out by a popular uprising, and were seeking a safe place from which to plan their return. The Hamburg sixty told the senators, who largely sympathized with the Lübeck exiles, that they must not allow those gentlemen to come to Hamburg or to stay there. Most of them were in Hamburg at the moment. Further, the sixty ordered the senators to recognize the insurgent government of Lübeck, and to eject from his seat in the Hamburg senate one Senator Quickborn, who was obnoxious to them. The senate could not comply with all these demands of the sixty, but the two bodies negotiated and came to an agreement. The senate really yielded to nearly every demand made by the sixty, and thus practically established the right of the people to a voice in the government which they have had ever since.

Yet the sixty were not always to have their own way. Although the senate took up the cause of the new insurgent senate at Lübeck, the other towns composing the League did not do so, and refused to allow their representatives to take part in the Hanseatic Congress held at Lüneburg 1412.

When the Hamburg representatives withdrew, because it was proposed to expel Lübeck from the League if she did not succeed in having the imperial ban removed, the congress very promptly sent messengers to the senate of Hamburg demanding to know whether they approved of the action of their representatives, and asking several pointed questions, upon the answers to which it evidently depended whether Hamburg, as well as Lübeck, should be expelled. The senate,

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of twelve great ships to sea, and Denmark sent a strong fleet to oppose them. A great battle was fought. Three Danish ships were rammed and sunk with all on board. Most of the other Danish ships were captured, and there was great slaughter. Only one hundred and twenty prisoners were brought to Hamburg and held for ransom.

The city was not only warring with the Danish nation at this time, but also with a dangerous band of noble thieves under Duke Eric von Saxon-Lauenburg, who infested the highways and robbed and murdered indiscriminately. In this latter war she was joined by Lübeck, whose troops were commanded by the famous Jordan Pleskow. They captured the duke's castle and estate of Bergedorf, which they kept. They then attacked, captured and obliterated the Riepenburg. This brought the ducal thief to his knees, and he begged for peace. All the neighbouring princes—the Margrave of Brandenburg, Dukes of Lüneburg, Mecklenburg and Stettin, and the Prince of the Wends—met the ambassadors of Hamburg and Lübeck and the Duke of Saxon-Lauenburg with four brothers at Perleberg, where a humiliating treaty was signed. The duke transferred to the two cities, not only Bergedorf and Riepenburg, but also the so-called Vierlaender and half the ancient Sachsenwald. He also gave up his pension which he had been receiving from Lübeck for protecting the highways.

Among the knights who fought for Hamburg against the duke on this occasion were some belonging to the most distinguished families in northern Germany, such as von Oeynhausen, von Münchhausen, and von Alten—the latter an ancestor of the late Duchess of Devonshire, who was born von Alten.

A small body of desperadoes attempted to revive the Vitalian brothers. They established themselves at Dokum in Frisia, and carried on successful piracy for a short time. Then Hamburg sent out a fleet with a thousand fighting men and attacked Dokum. Gröningen sent an army to help Hamburg, and the pirates were hemmed in and destroyed. Only forty-four were taken prisoners, and they were all beheaded. A large amount of booty was recovered and Dokum was burned.

In 1422 Boldewin von Kroge gathered together one hundred and eighty knights who wanted to be rich quickly, and led them against a caravan of valuable goods which was known to be coming from Lübeck. The plan was betrayed to the cities.

They promptly sent some troops and one or two cannon to a place behind the enemy and the rest of their force met them on the road. The knights were surprised and took to flight, but met the waiting troops behind them. The castle of Duke Eric of Lauenburg was close by, and the highwaymen threw themselves on his mercy. He shut his gates after admitting them, and refused to give the men up until the citizen armies began to beleaguer his castle, denouncing him as the worst of the band. Frightened by this he offered to surrender the thieves, but while doing so he enabled several of the more prominent to escape. However, more than one hundred and fifty were captured, and not only lost their horses and arms and armour, but they, or their friends, had to pay heavy ransoms and promise never to do it again.

The war with Denmark because of Schleswig smouldered on until 1426, when, owing to an attempt of King Eric to restrict the privileges, or the pretensions, of the League in the Baltic, it burst out afresh; but Hamburg now had as allies Lüneburg and all the Baltic Hanse towns, and early in 1427 the whole of northern Germany joined the Count of Holstein to fight the Danes. Eighteen Saxon towns joined in the fight, and a fleet of two hundred and fifty vessels, large and small, was sent out from the various German ports. Hamburg, Lübeck and Lüneburg also sent troops to aid the Holsteiners in the siege of Flensburg. The Hamburg troops were commanded by a senator, Johann Klotz, and they were encamped rather apart from the others. It was agreed that a general attack should take place on the Friday after Ascension Day. On the eve of Ascension Day, however, Senator Klotz shared a tun of beer with his troops, and they became so lively that they began firing at the fortress. The noise alarmed the Holsteiners, who, thinking the Hamburgers were stealing a march on them, and would get all the honour and booty, caught up arms and ladders and attacked and tried to storm the town. Count Henry III., believing that the Germans were already in the town, had a ladder carried and placed against the walls and, taking no precautions, hastily mounted, and was promptly thrust through by the pike of one of the Danes. He was carried to his tent, where he died. The united forces quarrelled and became disunited, the Hamburg troops withdrew, and as the Holsteiners alone were not numerous enough they had to abandon the siege.

Johann Klotz was accused of treason and was imprisoned,

tortured and questioned, but steadily denied his guilt. Nevertheless, he was found guilty of alarming the garrison before Flensburg and causing disaster, and he was beheaded.

The same year Hamburg sent out a fleet to join a Lübeck fleet and fight the Danes. When the enemy's ships came in sight the two German leaders agreed that they should fight them. The Hamburg ships under Hein Hoyer attacked and fought bravely. Unfortunately the Lübeck leader, Tydemann Steen, lost his head and his courage and sailed away, leaving his allies to their fate. They were far outnumbered, and, after more than half the men were killed, the fleet was captured. A merchant fleet which was to have been protected by the warships came up soon after the battle, and was also captured by the Danes, who thus won a splendid and profitable victory. They took forty-six large, heavily laden merchantmen. The owners of these ships and goods, Lübeck merchants, were almost as angry as Hamburg was at the behaviour of Burgomaster Tydemann Steen, and he was tried and condemned to life-long imprisonment.

Hoyer, the Hamburg leader, was severely wounded and taken prisoner. He was kept five years in Danish prisons with several others of note, but in 1432 they were set free on payment of ten thousand marks.

The foreign affairs of the Hansa were in a tangled condition; Hamburg and Lübeck had both tried, as the German proverb says, to hunt two hares at once, and so caught neither. The Count of Holstein summoned them to come to his aid in fighting Denmark, according to their agreement. King Eric rated them soundly for scandalously breaking the treaty which they had voluntarily entered into with him.

The citizens of Hamburg felt these reproaches keenly, and they turned upon the senators, demanding explanation, and they again appointed a committee of sixty to look after the actions of the senate. In Lübeck the citizens laid all the blame for everything that had gone wrong upon the new senate which had now been expelled. In Wismar, on the contrary, the people rose, attacked their senate, and publicly beheaded their burgomaster and one senator. In Rostock the whole governing body was declared to be dishonoured and banished from the city, and in Bremen the advanced radicals came to the front and chased their senate out of town; later they beheaded Burgomaster Wasmer. This was going ahead in the wrong way, and all these towns had to pay heavily for their

conduct, though the deeds took place in 1429 and the retribution did not follow until 1433.

In 1428 a new combined fleet was sent out by Holstein and the Hansa. There were two hundred ships and twelve thousand men, commanded by Count Gerhard VII. of Holstein. They did much damage along the Danish coasts and beleaguered Copenhagen, whose citizens defended themselves bravely and successfully. They then invaded Jütland and ravaged that country. In this expedition the allies were able to attack many defenceless territories and to ruin many innocent farmers, but when they met determined enemies, like the citizens of Copenhagen, they turned their backs and went away. The emperor sent envoys to try to bring about a peace, but Holstein would not listen and the war straggled on.

King Eric had had his hands fully occupied by an insurrection in Sweden, and had thus not been able to meet these German enemies. He was himself in Sweden, and had left his wife at home. This lady was in Copenhagen during the siege, and set the defenders an example of determination and bravery, and, after the enemy had sailed away to Jütland, she got together a fleet and attacked and burned Stralsund. This fleet was afterwards driven by storms on to the Mecklenburg coast, where it was found in a disabled condition by the great German fleet and annihilated. King Eric, who was not an admirable character, when he heard of this disaster, flew into a rage and gave his English queen a body beating, whereupon that lady left him and retired into a convent, and with her went all the courage of the royal family. She died within a year.

The allies in Jütland besieged and took the town of Apenrade and then disbanded. The Hamburg contingent decided to sail home, but as they were slowly passing the coasts of Dietmarsh the inhabitants of three parishes there, led by one Radelv Carstens, fell upon the unsuspecting Hamburgers, killed many and captured most of the rest with their ships. There had been ill-feeling between the Dietmarsh people and the citizens for several years. The Dietmarshers persisted in what they deemed their right to levy toll from every ship passing in or out of the Elbe. The Hamburgers denied that right. The peasants attacked Hamburg ships and even raided the harbour. The citizens resisted, and when they captured some of the raiders, hung them as pirates caught red-handed. The peasants formed a patriotic society, whose object was to do

as much harm as possible to Hamburg. All this was known to the returning Hamburg warriors, who, however, trusted to their numbers and strength, failed to take precautions, and the result was their ruin.

Shortly after this, in 1430, the Dietmarshers attacked the island of Neuwerk, where Hamburg had erected a fortified lighthouse, and carried off the garrison, the guns and the cattle.

Hamburg then sent a strong frigate to patrol the Dietmarsh coast. It had six hundred men, commanded by Senator Martin Swartekopp. These men wearied of their long confinement and chafed at not being allowed to attack. At last they accused their commander of cowardice and even of being secretly in league with the Dietmarshers. Swartekopp was weak enough to yield to pressure. He landed with his whole force. Two hundred men were left at the landing, and the rest ravaged the neighbourhood, burning and plundering villages and driving cattle. It was not long before the Dietmarsh men got together with their arms and drove the Hamburgers back. Encumbered with booty they fought badly, and retreated to their boats. These they found high and dry, as the tide was out, and they stood at bay with no means of further retreat. The natives swarmed upon them and killed them all, it is said that not one escaped. Swartekopp was among the first to fall. His body was chopped to pieces by the women, who trailed his entrails about in the barbarous style of those times. Hamburg thirsted for revenge, and for two years bitter warfare followed, until, in 1432, the Archbishop of Bremen succeeded in bringing about an armistice for a year, which was quietly continued indefinitely.

As long as the fighting lasted the Hamburgers were successful, winning in so many fights that the Dietmarshers turned upon their reckless leader, Carstens, and accused him of being the instigator of all the barbarities and the author of all their woes. Carstens had many friends, and civil war ensued. Johann Crusen, heading one party, drove Carstens out of the country, and the unfortunate man was murdered by his own wife.

In August 1435 the war between the Hansa and Scandinavia came to an end. The League had all its ancient privileges, in the three northern kingdoms under King Eric's rule, re-established. Hamburg paid Eric ten thousand marks ransom for Hoyer and other prisoners of note. On the other hand Hamburg received six thousand marks ransom for Danish prisoners.

The League had nothing to congratulate itself upon, and the Baltic cities never regained their old influence with Scandinavia. Hamburg and Bremen, on the other hand, got much more of the northern business than they had had. King Eric was anxious to make peace because the Swedes were in a state of rebellion.

In that same year Hamburg received from the Emperor Sigismund the privilege of coining money in gold as well as silver.

Sigismund died in 1437, and in 1438 the new emperor, Albrecht, confirmed all Hamburg's privileges of whatever kind and from whomsoever they may have issued, emperor, king, duke or count. This effectually stopped any claims which might again be made by the rulers of Holstein and Denmark.

All northern Europe was awaking at this time, and the Hanseatic League found it could no longer control the trade of the north. Not only did the Scandinavian lands resent, and try to wrest from them, the monopoly of the Baltic trade, but England, no longer governed by Plantagenets, began to object to having her sea trade in the hands of the Osterlings; and Holland and Spain were bidding for a share in the carrying trade. The League declined to recognize the rights of any to a share in the carrying trade of the north, and, instead of yielding a part, they insisted upon the most preposterous conditions. They demanded, for instance, absolute monopoly of English trade, with privilege of maintaining great commercial headquarters at three English ports; but they refused to allow any English merchants to establish themselves in Germany or to do business directly with any Germans living in Germany. It was to this arrogance and unyieldingness that the fall of the League was largely due at first, and not, as the historian Nehlsen says, to the discovery of America. Doubtless that had much to do with it later, but the period to which Nehlsen applies it, is this period of the wars with King Eric and the immediately following decades, and Columbus did not discover America until 1492, nor did the effect of that discovery upon trade develop itself at once.

One sign of decay was the frequent quarrels and constant bickerings at the different Hansa congresses between the different cities. When to these were added constant complaints that England, Scotland, France, and the Netherlands were growing restless under the burthensome Hanseatic yoke, it may be seen that these congresses were not peaceful gather-

ings. The only way the League could suggest to put a stop to these insurrections was to treat all the different nations with a high hand and yield nothing. This is one thing that strikes one in reading accounts of these congresses. Another thing which is striking is the envy which seemed to characterize the proceedings; almost as if it were a national vice. The Hansa wished to control all commerce in North Europe, but it was absolutely determined to keep the trade of the Baltic in its own hands.

In 1436 numbers of Netherland vessels sailed to the Baltic for grain. The German ships attacked these peaceful traders, sank a number of their ships and took the cargoes from the others and sent them home empty. Naturally this incensed the Netherlanders, who demanded fifty thousand guldens, and, failing to get it, raised a fleet and an army. The Frisian chieftains and Duke Philip of Burgundy joined them. Their first success was the capture of twenty-two richly-laden ships belonging to Baltic ports and on their way home from Spain. The war lingered on for years. The Germans suffered far more than the Dutch; they had more ships to lose and they had more trade to lose. To add to the troubles, Russia began to be restless under the Hanseatic yoke, and to resent the Hanseatic pride and arrogance. On every side the great commercial Trust was threatened.

In 1443 the Hansa changed its rules and entered into a new League, if anything, stricter and more unyielding than the former one. Forty towns bound themselves to assist each other in every way against every one excepting the empire. In case of any overlord attempting to enforce his will against the wishes of any town belonging to the League, all the other members bound themselves to send aid to that town. In their treatment of mere foreigners, haughty rigour best describes their methods. They wholly failed to recognize the changed state of affairs, or the necessity for compromise or diplomacy. They had succeeded by bullying in the past and they proposed to continue that policy. Further they proposed to police the roads and to protect their citizens whether at home or abroad.

Hamburg was the first of the confederate cities to see that this was no longer a winning policy. The modern commerce must give as well as take, and Hamburg and Cologne began to act more or less on this plan. Christoph, King of Denmark, the bitterest enemy of the Germans at that time, died in January 1448, and with him his dynasty ceased. The new

king was Christian, count of Oldenburg. Hamburg found herself at war at this time with the Frisians in and about Emden.

As a result of the fighting with the pirates, when the Frisians were involved, Hamburg had taken certain portions of Frisia and kept them. They were governed by two representatives of the senate, who lived in Emden. These gentlemen quarrelled with Ulrich Cirksena, a Frisian chieftain. The banished chieftains espoused the cause of Cirksena, and demanded also the return of their confiscated property. When this was refused they stirred the people up to rebellion. Hamburg threw several leaders into prison and seized several ships belonging to Cirksena. A great part of Frisia joined the insurrection, Harlingen, Norden and Aurich rose, and an attempt was made to rebuild the Syboldsburg, which was a robber castle destroyed by the Hansa in 1433. Hamburg and Bremen joined in sending troops to prevent this and put down the rising. A very bitter, ruthless war ensued, and lasted until the autumn of 1452, when Gröningen and Holstein mediated and brought about an armistice. Sibeth von Esen was the hero of this uprising, and proved himself a better soldier than Senator Gronenberg, the Hamburg general, whom he defeated in several battles. In April 1453 a treaty was signed. Emden was given up to Cirksena and Hamburg received an indemnity of ten thousand marks, and free entry into Frisia of all kinds of Hamburg products. Cirksena was to keep down piracy and Hamburg was to furnish him with three hundred soldiers to help him, if attacked, and Cirksena was to help the Germans in their war with Holland.

Cirksena was declared Count of Frisia by the Emperor Frederick III.

In Oldenburg Count Gerhard joined with several Frisian chiefs and harried all merchants they could, by sea and land, and the Hansa had much trouble and expense in keeping them down.

The quarrels with Burgundy and England continued, and at the Hansa congresses the rules were made narrower and more stringent with the idea of damaging all outsiders, but with the unexpected result of eventually destroying the great Hanseatic League. Foreigners, when forbidden to share the trade of the League, undertook to trade on their own account, and found it interesting and profitable.

Hamburg, more liberal and more far-sighted, refused to

obey these rules, and entered into arrangements with England for mutual trade concessions, and thereby incurred the wrath of her fellow-members of the League.

At this period there was great unrest and civil war in Lüneburg, chiefly stirred up by the priests, who denounced the senate to the pope, and succeeded in getting him to excommunicate that body. Some members were imprisoned, one or two died of severe treatment and others escaped. Their property was confiscated. The exiled senators appealed to the emperor, who reinstated them, and the priests, in their turn, with their adherents, were ejected, much protesting. It was this sort of action on the part of the Church which prepared the people of northern Germany to welcome the Reformation.

Hamburg was much excited by the troubles in Lüneburg, and there was a good deal of popular grumbling, which the senate wisely met by concessions. Thus four ordinary citizens were added to the senate—labour members—and the constitution of 1410 was completely revised in 1458. There are curious clauses in this new constitution. For instance, because of the prevailing extravagance and luxury the senate is authorized to make such ordinances as it sees fit for the purpose of regulating the habits of living of the citizens.

Slaves who may have succeeded in living in the city for a year and a day shall not be given up to their owners.

The export of grain is prohibited on pain of loss of citizenship or banishment.

A minimum wage rate for artisans is fixed.

And a special clause in the constitution is devoted to tailors, who seem, for some reason, to have been especially favoured and encouraged.

Brewers were also especially arranged for, but beer was at that time the chief article of export, as English cloth was the chief article imported.

There were four hundred and fifty-seven brewers in Hamburg at this time, among the most important being the cathedral brewery belonging to the dean and chapter. More than half of these brewers exported most of the beer they made, large quantities going to the Netherlands. There were many allied trades, adding to the importance of brewing. Thus there were more than two hundred cooper shops, and many ships were built for the purpose of transporting the beer. The sellers of Flemish cloth were an important body, but they failed completely in their effort to boycott English cloth and prevent its

sale, and in the new constitution there was a clause especially providing for the protection of those trading with England.

In 1459 Count Adolf VIII. of Holstein, the last of his race, died, and the protectorship of Hamburg, so long held by the Schauenburgs, ceased.

Immediately after his death a struggle for the succession began between Count Otto of Schauenburg-Pinneburg, who was a distant relative of the late ruler and the nearest male heir to Holstein, but with no claim whatever to the duchy of Schleswig, and King Christian I. of Denmark, who claimed as a son of a sister of Adolf VIII. to be the next of kin and rightful heir to both crowns.

The nobles and knights of Holstein and Stormarn assembled to discuss the succession. There was no doubt that the count was the nearest direct male heir, though the connection was so distant that he was not a descendant of Gerhard the Great, through whom Schleswig had been acquired, and to which he, the count, had no claim.¹ A majority of the nobles had a personal interest in continuing the union between Holstein and Schleswig, and they decided to support his claims. A deputation of three nobles was sent to notify the city of Hamburg of the death of Adolf VIII., and with a request that the city should state which candidate she would favour.

Count Otto appeared and demanded the homage of the city, but was courteously informed that there were other claimants to the crown. King Christian, meanwhile, was actively at work among the nobles, who were divided into two parties. At the head of the king's adherents was Field-Marshal von Ranzau, whilst the count's advocates were led by a von Pogwisch, each being a member of one of the leading families of Holstein. At a convention, held at Rendsburg, February 11, 1460, the majority chose the king. Hamburg and Lübeck declined to attend the convention. He was shortly after proclaimed solemnly as Duke of Schleswig and Count of Holstein,

¹

ADOLF IV.

Gerhard, Adolf IV.'s son

Henrich—Gerhard I.'s son

Gerhard the Great

Henrich II.

Gerhard VI.

Adolf VIII.

Adolf—Gerhard I.'s son
Count of Schauenburg-Pinneburg

Adolf the younger

Otto II.

Adolf X.

Otto III.

and he then issued a statement that he had been chosen ruler over those lands as next of kin to the late Adolf VIII., and *not* as King of Denmark.

In January 1461 King Christian I. with a great retinue visited Hamburg to have the city's homage, and was received in state by forty leading citizens, named for that duty by the burgo-masters. The king was well lodged and feasted. The next day he rode to the council house surrounded by his nobles, among them Arnold, bishop of Lübeck, John von Ahlefeld, Wulf von der Wisch, Klaus von Ranzau, Henning von Pogwisch, Archdeacon Conradi and others. The bishop then called upon the city to pay homage to the king as their overlord. The burgomasters replied they would gladly accept the king as their protector and would follow him as they had followed his uncle.

The king was not satisfied, and demanded that the city should do homage, at once and without quibble, to him as overlord. The city declined to do this, and stated that they had not sworn allegiance to his predecessors nor would they do so to him.

Of course this did not please the king, and after some discussion the meeting adjourned and all present took part in a banquet and ball.

After a night's reflection the king decided that a part of a loaf is better than none at all, and, when he met the senators again, he agreed to accept their proffered friendship and alliance. A formal document was prepared to that purport and it was signed by both parties. Then the king shook hands with every one present and confirmed all the city's privileges. The city sent him gifts of food, beer and wine, and a handsome piece of plate, after which the king and his retinue departed.

Perhaps the next very important person whose passage through Hamburg made a stir, was the Bishop of Verden, who was, one might almost say, notorious. At any rate, he was nearly always quarrelling with some one, often the most unexpected. In 1460 he sided with the citizens of Lüneburg in their quarrel with the clergy, and was excommunicated. Whilst thus under the ban he visited King Christian at Reinfeld, and was returning to Verden when, driving in state through Hamburg, his retinue was attacked in the street by a mob of men and boys, who pelted the procession with stones and mud and with shouts of "heretic!" and "outlaw!" Some of the Hamburg cathedral clergy were suspected of being at the bottom

of the disturbance. However, the bishop thought it his duty to complain to the city of the outrage. The senate refused to regard the matter seriously. Thereupon the fiery bishop went home, raised an army and raided outlying territory of Hamburg, burning, killing and plundering until he supposed he had done enough damage to pay for the injuries he had received. There was great indignation felt in the city, but the king interfered and succeeded in bringing about a truce and finally peace in 1462.

In 1464 the pope, Pius II., sent preachers broadcast to call for a new crusade. In Hamburg they met with hardly any success. But few took the cross, and those who did came from the dregs of the people and some of the fugitive slaves, not one of whom returned to Hamburg.

The chief enemy of the German monopoly at this time was England, whose people had become very restive. They objected to the Germans monopolizing trade, they resented the haughty attitude of superiority of the German merchants, and they demanded their share in English trade. The king could not wholly resist this demand, and Henry VI. and Edward IV., though in the midst of the War of the Roses, tried to curb the Germans.

According to German accounts, the King of England was provoked at the Hansa and revenged himself by arresting several German merchants at the Steelyard and hanging them, at the same time cancelling all Hanseatic privileges in England. The League replied by sending a powerful fleet, which seized a long strip of the coast, landed a strong force—in 1472—and plundered and wasted the country for more than forty miles inland. They captured a number of gentlemen, whom they hanged to the yards of the German ships, which then sailed close to the coast so that the remaining inhabitants could see what fruit grew on those trees. They also captured many small English ships and hanged their crews.

Cologne denounced these proceedings and was, in consequence, ejected from the League. At length both sides grew tired, and, on February 28, 1474, peace was signed, and ratified by the King of England on July 20 of the same year. It seems to have been a complete victory for the Germans, as they received once more all their ancient privileges and £10,000 damages.

The German accounts of this war—see R. Nehlsen, *Hamburgische Geschichte*, and Otto Beneke, *Hamburgische Ge-*

schichten und Sagen—are curious. It seems that, not content with hanging their prisoners, they tortured them in many ingenious and barbarous ways, clearly showing that the Germans of the fifteenth century were just as barbarous as they were after the Thirty Years' War, although some writers have tried to show that the brutality and barbarity for which Germans were noted in both Europe and America in the eighteenth century was a natural result of the long period of lawless violence caused by that war.

In 1473 Dantzic sent out a fleet under Paul Bencke, who seems to have been an unadulterated pirate with no redeeming features. Flushed with his first success, which was the capture of an English ship larger than any one of his, he attacked and captured every ship he met, including many under the Burgundian flag, which naturally displeased the Duke of Burgundy—Charles the Bold.

Meantime, efforts for peace were being made, and they resulted, as stated above, chiefly owing to the Hamburg burgomaster, Dr. Heinrich Murmeister.

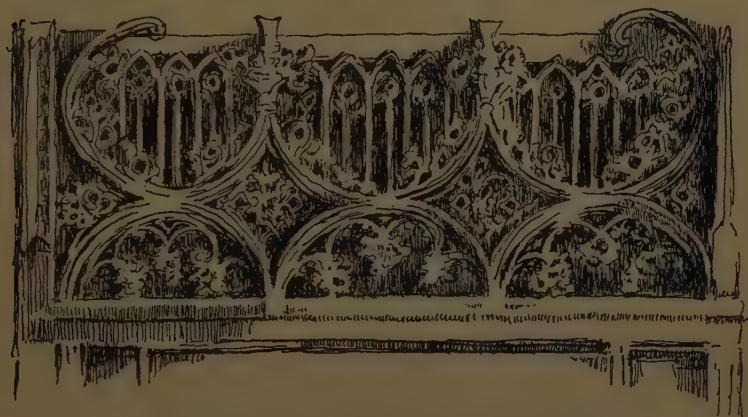
This was perhaps the ideal Hamburg citizen of his time. He was of patrician stock, his parents were wealthy, honourable and pious, and he was taught all the things that were most esteemed, being skilled in the use of the sword and lance and an expert horseman as well as being well-read in Latin and good at mathematics and music. He studied general learning and law at Erfurt and Padua. In 1464 he was chosen senator, and, after only two years, was elected burgomaster, holding that honourable post until 1481, when he died. Dr. Otto Beneke writes of him: "That was a man! Every inch a burgomaster! Ex utroque consul! for he was not only a doctor of philosophy and of jurisprudence, and a wise and clever statesman, but he was also a bold and courageous soldier and a cautious general, and understood how to steer the ship of state, whether in peace or war, so as to conduce to the glory and welfare of Hamburg." As a statesman his chief work was the bringing of the war between the Hansa and England to a glorious end by the peace of Utrecht, 1474. He was also one of the most prominent men at every Hansatag from 1466 to 1478.

As a general he distinguished himself when he led an army of foot and horse to the aid of King Christian of Denmark in 1472, and defeated the king's brother Gerhard and his army of Schleswig and Holstein rebels.

As a citizen and a magistrate he was a model, performing

every duty cheerfully and using his wealth generously. During his life he gave much to the poor, and at his death he left bequests endowing the chief burgomaster's office with funds to pay for a daily distribution of food to the poor for ever; for yearly contribution to the hospital which then (and still) existed in the city; for masses for his own soul; for additions to the salaries of the clergy and school teachers at St. Nicholas, and for a yearly feast to the St. Nicholas school children, consisting of beef, lamb, bread and beer.

As a scholar he had a high reputation during his life, and earned the lasting gratitude of the learned and the learners by leaving his own large and valuable collection of books and manuscripts to the public city library, which he had helped to



WOOD-CARVING IN COUNCIL HOUSE, LÜNEBERG

found. Finally, to quote Dr. Beneke again, as a man of the world and good fellow he endowed a yearly banquet to take place on St. Jerome's Day, to which the senate and the rector of St. Nicholas were always to be invited. For many years this feast was held annually, but it was finally given up and the money was added to a fund for pensioning the widows of poor senators.

During the fifteenth century there existed in Hamburg a deeply rooted prejudice against the Wends and all Slavs. No member of these races was available for citizenship, or for membership of any guild, nor was he allowed to work at any trade in the city. The passports and birth certificates of all

strangers arriving in the city were carefully examined, and Wends and Slavs were turned back. An ancient legend tells of a Wend who was an expert shoemaker. He came to the city and managed to evade discovery. After two years' work he wished to become a master and applied for admission to citizenship and to the guild of cordwainers. In both applications he swore that he was not a Wend. As test masterpiece he produced a wonderful pair of seamless boots, which, however, the devil had made for him on condition that he never used the name of God. Forgetting this, when taking the oath of citizenship, he swore to do his duty to the city to the best of his ability and by God's help. Whereupon the devil appeared and carried him off, and the wonderful boots were still preserved in Hamburg as late as Heinrich Heine's day. The moral of this tale is that guilds and nations should not be too strict in their conditions about admitting new members, or they may lose many useful and valuable individuals and drive them to the devil.

CHAPTER VIII

END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

IN the latter part of this century King Christian I. made a crafty and well-thought-out attempt to get control of Hamburg and other places. In January 1474 he passed through the city at the head of one hundred and fifty gentlemen in pilgrims' garb. Albert Klitzling, dean of Hamburg, and other clergymen joined the pilgrimage. First they rode to Rothenburg on the Tauber, where the emperor Frederick III. was holding court. He aided the emperor to make peace with Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and received as reward the desire of his heart, the union of Dietmarsh and the counties of Holstein and Stromarn, including Hamburg, into a duchy of which he, the king, was duke. Keeping this grant secret, the king took his pilgrims to Rome, where he made himself agreeable to the pope and wheedled from him the right of nominating the bishops of Hamburg and Bremen. Then he went on to Jerusalem, where his plans were nearly frustrated, as he was taken prisoner by the sultan and only regained his liberty with much trouble and at great expense. On his way home he again visited the emperor and was publicly proclaimed duke of Holstein. He reached Holstein about

September, but found no enthusiasm. Dietmarsh strenuously refused to be joined to Holstein; and Hamburg and Lübeck of course objected. The king appealed to the emperor, who ordered Lübeck to give no aid to the Dietmarshers on pain of loss of independence and heavy fine. The Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Burgundy also backed King Christian. Hamburg and Lübeck succeeded in keeping the peace by getting the actual union postponed, first to May 1475, then to May 1476, and again for another year.

Meantime Dietmarsh was appealing to the emperor, who paid no attention, and to the pope, who denounced the union and declared the emperor's action null and void.

The affair dragged along until 1480, when the king decided to end the matter. He summoned his subjects to attend him at Rendsburg and pay homage. Summonses went to Hamburg, Lübeck and Dietmarsh. All three refused, and again appealed to the emperor, whom, this time, they succeeded in convincing that he had made a mistake. That Dietmarsh had always belonged to the archbishop of Bremen, and Hamburg and Lübeck were free cities of the empire. June 30, 1841, the emperor reversed his order, creating the duchy of Holstein, and commanded the king to let the people alone. He added that the king had deceived him, and had assured him that he was only asking for what the Schauenburgs had always had, and what he, as heir of the Schauenburgs, should have, which was untrue.

Christian I. died soon after, and was succeeded by his son John, who created his brother Frederic duke of Schleswig and Holstein. The nobles of both countries protested, claiming the right of the two countries to remain separate, and also the right of the nobles of each country to elect their own leader from among the heirs and descendants of Christian I. After long wrangling peace was made, and then, in November 1482, the king, his brother the duke, and a number of great nobles came, with six hundred horses and in great state, to receive the homage of Hamburg. This, of course, the senate again refused. For five days the princes and their legal advisers endeavoured to bully or persuade the city to yield, and then they gave in and the king accepted, the same that his father had been forced to accept, viz. the position of ally and protector.

The city made its usual presents of jewels, plate, beer, wine, meat and fish. The entertainment and the gifts cost a great

sum, but the city saw her guests leave, and was glad that she had been steadfast, though hospitable, and that the king went away, a disappointed man.

At this very time, 1480-1483, a great famine prevailed throughout the neighbourhood and the Baltic countries. There had grown up a very good trade with Iceland, which took large quantities of grain from Hamburg. And the more ignorant of the citizens, who were suffering from scarcity and high prices, accused the senate and the merchants who dealt with Iceland and shipped cargoes of grain away from the city, of being responsible for their suffering. They also included the higher clergy, and a mob attacked several Church dignitaries who had come from Bremen to officially visit the Abbey of Harvestehude. They were rescued with difficulty. The mob surrounded the council house and demanded that the Bremen priests be sent away. Voices were heard saying that such a thing as hanging priests and dignitaries was no longer unheard of in these times. However, the senate succeeded in quieting the people, and the Bremen priests got safely away.

The discontent, however, continued and increased. The chief leader of the grumblers was a brewer named Henrich Lohe, who accused the senate of aiding and abetting the rich exporters of grain and of thus taking the bread out of the mouths of poor citizens. He stirred up the people privately and also spoke the same way in public. He continued doing this until on Hallowe'en, 1483, he was arrested and sent to the tower. The senate then called a public meeting to consult about the situation. One result was that the export of all foodstuffs was forbidden. Nevertheless the dissatisfaction grew no less, and Lohe's adherents determined to release him. They chose a day when an embassy had been sent to Lübeck in great state, accompanied by most of the troops who usually guarded the tower.

A mob of men called on the burgomasters and found two of them at home, whom they took as hostages, and marched for the tower. Several of the clerical magnates appeared, and tried to quiet the mob, but they were not listened to, and barely escaped with their lives. On reaching the Winsen tower they beat down the doors and released Lohe, whom they conducted to his home, making the burgomasters, one of whom had been badly wounded, walk by his side with uncovered heads. Of course Henrich Lohe made a speech.

On the following Friday a mass meeting was held in the

Church of St. Nicholas. The senate collected in the choir, the people filling the nave. Lohe presented certain articles with a demand that they should be signed at once. The senators declined, as it was a matter of such grave importance, to do anything until the return from Lübeck of the ambassadors, who included the chief burgomaster and several leading senators. The meeting was then adjourned, and when the embassy returned from Lübeck the more important of the demands were complied with.

The leaders of the insurgents were, however, far from being satisfied. They were aiming to get the whole government of the city and a great part of the wealth of the upper classes into their own hands. Some of them wanted power, some wanted wealth, and both parties were willing to buy what they wanted by paying liberally with their opponents' money.

A plot was formed to attack the senators and leading citizens on St. John's Eve, when they were in the habit of having an annual banquet. This plot was discovered, and the senators were on their guard, so that the attack was not made; but numbers of fires took place in the poorer parts of the town, and the people were told that these fires had been secretly lighted by order of the senate. Cord Riquerd, one of the leaders of the plot, was arrested, and Lohe then headed a demand for his release, and also a demand for a number of other changes in the laws. When the senate met to consider these demands, a mob stormed the council house and broke in the doors; but the senators and a number of leading citizens drove the people back and arrested one or two of the leaders. A great crowd of men armed with axes and hammers tried to release the prisoners, but were beaten back. The revolt was put down; two or three of the most violent, who had murdered or tried to murder others, were executed. Lohe, who had not joined the mob, though he had incited it, was pardoned, and was regarded as a leader by many of the people. A neighbouring noble named Freytag came one day with his wife to Hamburg, and recognizing Lohe as a former slave of his, demanded his return. Lohe, with some of his friends, drove Freytag from the city and attacked and handled very roughly Madame Freytag, who was rescued from them with difficulty. Freytag complained to the senate. Lohe was arrested, and during the investigation which followed it is said that Lohe was found to have been guilty of numerous crimes and misuse of public funds, and he was condemned and beheaded. After his death a criminal, tried and executed in

Hanover, confessed that he and several others, including Lohe, had conspired to attack and kill certain senators and leading merchants whom he named, and to divide their property.

The senate, after suppressing this outbreak and disposing of its leaders, called the law-abiding people together and, by common consent, a new and more liberal constitution was agreed upon.

One or two of the clauses of this document are surprising. For instance, all commerce with Iceland was forbidden. This was because the people had got the idea that the dearness of food was entirely due to the fact that so much grain was exported to Iceland.

Again, owing to the high prices of everything, it is announced that for the future poor children would be charged two shillings a quarter for tuition in the schools, and not be educated free and without cost, as previously.

I doubt if there were many free schools for poor children in the world in the fifteenth century outside the Hanse towns.

This important constitution or covenant was signed by senate and citizens in 1483.

This put an end to most of the trouble. There were a few small riots, stirred up by irreconcilables, but the leaders were dead, the more moderate were satisfied, and the city settled down fairly well for a time.

The peace of Utrecht had been very unpopular with the English people, who very naturally objected to having all or nearly all their own trade handed over to foreigners. A fight which took place in Iceland between English and German traders resulted in the defeat of the latter. A ship from Hamburg was attacked and captured by a ship from Hartlepool; and English, French and Dutch ships tried to get a part of the trade of the North Sea. For this they were called pirates by the Germans, and treated as such when they got a chance. The Germans had taught themselves to believe that they had a right to monopolize the carrying trade in the Baltic and the north seas, and that any others trying to share in it were pirates. This was a belief that was good just as long as the Germans were able to enforce it, and not a moment longer.

Hamburg tried to rise to the occasion, but she not only found it hard to keep down all the northern nations, but she had also to fight with Count Gerhard of Oldenburg, whose hand was against every one. This German Ishmael had a special fondness for picking up caravans on the high roads or ships at sea

belonging to Hamburg or Bremen. He robbed every one, from his brothers down, but he especially enjoyed getting the best of the "shopkeepers," as he called the free citizens.

In 1488 Henry VII. of England made formal complaint to the King of Denmark because of the way the Germans bullied the English at Bergen. But before long the English were entirely excluded from Bergen. The English fishermen, who fished off the Norwegian coast, were treated as if they were pirates—not by the Norwegians but by the Germans. The English king, first of the plucky Tudors, retaliated by prohibiting the export of English wool, except in English ships. This was exactly the opposite of the Plantagenet system, and the Hansa made the welkin ring with their complaints. In 1490 the German ambassadors met English representatives at Antwerp. To the German complaints the English answer was, You have destroyed our ships, killed and robbed our fishermen, treated our merchants as pirates, and you expect that we will continue to treat you as superior beings! What we mean to do is to make you pay for the damage you have done us. The Hansa blamed the Danes for all that had occurred, and demanded the restoration of their monopoly and other privileges. As neither party gave in, the conference came to an end.

The friction continued. The English mob was much excited at the constant news of the capture or destruction of English ships by Germans. In March 1493 a mob attacked the Hanseatic headquarters in London—the Steelyard—and began plundering the warehouses and offices; but before they had done much damage the plucky "Easterlings," as the Germans were called, clerks, merchants, sailors, got together and drove out the mob. They then entrenched themselves in the Steelyard and repulsed several renewed attacks until the Lord Mayor came to their rescue. Eighty of the mob were arrested. The Germans complained that none of the highly placed instigators of the riot were arrested. They, however, never punished any of their own leaders who instigated the attack upon English ships engaged in peaceful trading. It took much more than this to convince the Germans that they were not the only right and proper carriers and merchants for the northern world, and that the North Sea and the Baltic were not their property and theirs only.

In 1494 an armistice of two years' duration was agreed to. This lasted without formal renewal for much longer. Meanwhile the Hanseatics fitted out numerous fleets to put down

all opposition in the North Sea. They attacked a Frisian fleet at anchor and captured and took to Hamburg seventy-four of the men. These and their friends at home made loud and indignant protest. They claimed the men were Frisian soldiers, on their own land, and about to depart on an expedition against Flanders, with whom they were at war. The Hamburgers suddenly descended upon them in overwhelming numbers, landed on Frisian soil, they being nominally at peace with Frisia, and committed this high-handed outrage. The Hamburgers, though they claimed that their prisoners were pirates, were distinctly in a dilemma. However, they put a bold face on the matter and cut off the heads of the seventy-four prisoners.

Naturally this did not help to make the Frisians any more friendly to the Germans. In fact, the Hansa was as generally unpopular with their neighbours as the English became in later times, and as the Prussians now are. Denmark, Holstein, Schleswig were all protesting against the high-handed treatment their subjects were receiving from Hamburg and Lübeck.

The Duke of Schleswig built a stronghold on the island of Heligoland, which he had every right to do, but the Hansa objected because there never had been any fortification there before. The ships of Bremen, Stade and Hamburg attacked the fort. The duke ordered the warehouses of those towns on the island to be destroyed. The cities then attacked and destroyed the stronghold and took its defenders prisoners. In 1498 the duke sent a strong force, which overpowered and captured all the Hanseatic and Dietmarsh people on the island.

Hamburg was at the same time allied with Bremen in fighting Magnus, duke of Saxony. In fact, all Northern Europe was ill-disposed toward the overbearing Hansa. The Hansa could brook no rivals, and the people and rulers of Northern Europe were no longer disposed to submit to the preponderance of the great merchants' league.

In 1499 Duke Magnus hired the notorious band of miscreant hirelings known as the Black Guard, composed of soldiers of fortune, thieves, murderers, etc., and with them drove out the Hanseatics and seized the land of Hadeln, which belonged to the archdiocese of Bremen. When he had possession of the country, he had no further use for the band which had formerly served under Charles of Burgundy. Then the King of Denmark and the Duke of Schleswig hired them to put down the independent peasants of Dietmarsh. Hamburg was on the side of

the peasants this time, and, expecting an attack from Holstein, strengthened her defences.

In February 1500 the king and duke with their black guard invaded Dietmarsh, overpowered the small town of Meldorf, and killed all the inhabitants. A week later they marched against Lunden, but on the way, near Hemmingstedt, they fell into an ambush of Dietmarshers and were nearly annihilated. The black guards were all killed by the peasants, and only a very small part of the army escaped. More



SILVER FROM A GUILD AT STADE

than twenty thousand are said to have been killed, but it is difficult to believe these figures when told that there were hardly five hundred men in the peasant army.

This defeat was so thorough that the king was unable to continue the war, and Hamburg and Lübeck acted as mediators. Representatives of the peasants met ambassadors of the king in Hamburg, and peace was agreed to in 1500, but not definitely concluded until 1523, long after King John of Denmark was dead. Under this treaty Heligoland was to remain unfortified, and to become once more a sort of no man's land.

CHAPTER IX

WAR WITH CHRISTIAN II.

THE sixteenth century began with war. The Scandinavian king was trying to quell an uprising of Swedes. He tried to cut off all their supplies from outside, but the Germans continued to carry quantities of everything to the rebels, and the king consequently declared war against Lübeck and Hamburg. By this time the League was much weakened, and the various members, even the leading ones, often looked out for their own

interests and betrayed those of their fellow-members of the League if that course seemed desirable. Thus, in this case, other cities did not come to the aid of Hamburg and Lübeck. Even Lübeck deserted Hamburg and made a separate peace.

Cardinal Raymund, sent by the pope, came in great state to Hamburg in 1503, and had a great reception. He tried, in vain, to mediate between the city and King John. The peace which Lübeck had made proved irksome, so she began war once more, and again Lübeck and Hamburg were allies, although Hamburg was kept from doing anything but stand on the defensive by an influential minority—a peace party—among the citizens. The motives of this peace party, led by Burgomaster Langebeck, were not altogether pure. They said, "If we take no part in the war, and Lübeck is actively engaged, with her port insecure, if not altogether blockaded, much of the Baltic trade, which usually goes to Lübeck, will come to us." The event justified this course. The trade of the Baltic streamed into the Elbe, and Hamburg had never had so much profitable business.

St. Job's hospital for infectious diseases was founded in 1510 by Hans Treptow, a benevolent citizen who saw that during the epidemics—smallpox and other pests—which visited Hamburg almost continuously from 1500 to 1506, there was no provision whatever for poor patients.

England, Frisia and Holland, as well as Denmark, were at war with such of the Hanse towns as chose. They had a bewildering way of quietly dropping out of the fighting line. Thus, during this long period of hostilities, Lübeck was constantly at war, and at some time nearly every member of the Hansa was her ally; but only a few at a time.

By King John's invitation, the Dutch sent a commercial fleet, with several men-of-war, to the Baltic in 1510. The Lübeck fleet was ready for them, and captured forty ships and destroyed most of the others. This had the effect of turning all Dutch trading with the Baltic over to Hamburg. In 1510 the whole League, excepting Hamburg and Dantzic, declared war against Denmark. King John died in 1513, and was succeeded by his son, Christian II., who in vain demanded the homage of Hamburg. The peace of Malmö had already been signed in 1512, which, after many delays, brought comparative tranquillity to Northern Europe.

The attitude which Hamburg had taken during this war annoyed the other members of the Hansa so much, and the

feeling between the cities was so strained, that Hamburg practically withdrew from the League. Jealousy of Lübeck was, perhaps, the chief reason for Hamburg's action, and a desire to profit by her misfortunes. She now undertook to entirely protect her own commerce from pirates, and she sent her own representatives to look after her interests in foreign ports, which had hitherto been in the hands of the Hansa.

In 1514 the city spent a great deal of money in building new fortifications along the Elbe, with a fortress at Neuwerk.

In 1519 Gustavus Vasa escaped from Sweden and took refuge in Lübeck. That city refused to give him up to the King of Denmark, who demanded that he should be handed over to him. The king was very angry, but his uncle, the Duke of Schleswig, managed to keep him quiet; but all trade with Sweden by Germans was forbidden.

In 1520 the Danish king, who was really by birth a German prince of Oldenburg, made a treaty of alliance, at Hanover, with the Archbishop of Bremen, the Dukes of Brunswick, Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and the Count of Oldenburg. This was hostile to the cities.

The king also appealed to the emperor, to whom he complained that the Hansa interfered with his manifest rights and prevented English and other ships from engaging in the Baltic trade, and thus robbed him of the tolls or Sound dues which all ships passing through the Sound were obliged to pay. He took possession of all German ships in Sweden, and forbade all his subjects to trade with any Germans, but especially with Lübeck.

Lübeck naturally looked upon these acts as unfriendly, and declared war. The emperor sided with Denmark, and issued an imperial ban against the city. It is difficult for us, in these modern days, to understand this situation. It seems impossible to imagine any power to-day seizing all the German ships coming into her ports; but supposing so strange a thing to occur, and a German city to resent it, it is wholly impossible to imagine Kaiser Wilhelm denouncing that city and doing everything he could to aid the foreigner. Yet that was what Charles V.—no mean monarch—did.

Christian II. was prevented from further action at the time against the cities by the rebellion of his own subjects. He was compelled to leave his country in 1523, and Hamburg sided with the rebels, and with her fleet prevented reinforcements crossing the Elbe to help him. Frederick I. of Holstein became king in

1524, and Hamburg sent three of her most prominent citizens to represent her at his coronation.

Christian fled to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, who took up his cause vigorously. Sweden had won her independence and Gustavus Vasa was king, but the whole of Denmark, the southern portion of what is now Sweden, and all Norway had yielded to Frederick I. The Duke of Burgundy raised a considerable body of troops, and a large and powerful fleet which was to transport the soldiers to Denmark and to fight the ships of the Germans. They really gave the Hamburgers, especially, a great deal of trouble, and at times blockaded the mouth of the Elbe and completely stopped all trade by the sea.

The island of Gothland, under a brave soldier, Sören Norbye, held out for Christian II. for a long time, but finally yielded to Frederick rather than submit to a threatened Swedish invasion.

Another brave gentleman who was true to his king was Claus Kniphoff, who was appointed high admiral, and had five ships under him, with twelve hundred men. With this fleet he dominated the North Sea. The Germans called them pirates, but really the ships sent out by individual cities, like Hamburg or Bremen, without commission or licence from the emperor, and often attacking vessels belonging to countries with which the empire was at peace, were, according to our modern ideas, much more like pirates than were those sailors who bore the commission of their sovereign, whose deposition had not yet been generally recognized by the powers. Kniphoff had many noblemen and gentlemen from Denmark under him. Von Putlitz, von Sydow, von Ahlefeld, George Hansen and George Stegentin were some of these.

Kniphoff has been described by his enemies as a tall, handsome young man of noble bearing and great physical strength. He was unusually well educated for a nobleman of that period. He was born in Copenhagen, and combined a fanatical loyalty and devotion to his king with a bitter hatred of everything German.

He took a large number of valuable prizes and exasperated the Hansa, which brought immense pressure to bear upon Margaret, regent of the Netherlands, and compelled her to warn von Kniphoff that he could no longer use Dutch ports as his base. She sent letters to the Hansa, notifying the League that she had done this. These letters were taken by the Hansa to be a formal recognition by the regent that Kniphoff was a pirate. Kniphoff

sailed for the Baltic, but was met in the Belt by a Danish fleet. After fighting twenty-four hours both fleets withdrew. Kniphoff repaired and reprovisioned on the Norwegian coast, and nearly drove German trading ships from the seas. He tried to capture Bergen, which would have been a double triumph, since it was not only a Norwegian city, and, as such, owed allegiance to King Christian, but it was practically owned by the Germans, and was the seat of their North Sea trade. The Germans, however, succeeded in driving him off.

All this was done by von Kniphoff alone, as Norbye, who had been forced to abandon Gothland, was now hiding in the Baltic, which was scoured by the combined Hanseatic and Danish fleets, and was unable to help.

Hamburg at length equipped a fleet of four large ships, commanded by Admiral Parsival and three of the best German captains. They cruised about the North Sea all summer and accomplished nothing. When they went back to Hamburg, in the autumn, they were received with jeers and reproaches. Two of the captains accused the admiral of cowardice—probably their advice had not been followed—and resigned. Four ships were added to the fleet, and Parsival sailed again. It is doubtful if he had been any more successful than before had it not been for the treachery of the pilot of von Kniphoff's ship, who ran that vessel aground off the Frisian coast and notified Parsival of what he had done. The ship was got off, with the loss of her masts, and Parsival found the fleet lying at anchor, the *Gallion*—so the flag-ship was called—undergoing repairs. Many of the men were on shore, and only a portion of them hurried on board when the enemy hove in sight.

Each of the smaller ships was engaged by a German ship, the other four of which attacked the crippled *Gallion*.

The chroniclers tell us that on the Hamburg ships hot beer mixed with gunpowder was served out to all hands to keep their courage up, and then the fight began. It was gallantly fought on both sides. The smaller Danish ships—two of them were very little—were soon captured, and the *Gallion* was surrounded by six hostile ships. One Hamburg ship, the smallest, ran aground, so she sent her men in boats to help the others. The battle ended with a fierce hand-to-hand struggle on board the *Gallion*, which was boarded fore and aft on both sides. The Danes were greatly outnumbered and were beaten.

The Hamburgers, mad with the rage of battle, showed no quarter, and when the fight was over they pursued their enemies

to all the corners of the ship and killed them. Some few were saved by the interference of some of the officers. Most of the leaders were killed. One German writer says that the burgomaster of Copenhagen and some counsellors who were with von Kniphoff were "killed like mad dogs." A German writer also says that the officer second in command, Klaus Rode, "fought like an incarnate fiend until some of his opponents caught him by the arms and held him whilst others cooled his rage with their hatchets, hacking his flesh into collops."

Most of the wounded—more than three hundred—were thrown into the sea. Kniphoff, himself, when he saw that all was lost, slashed his way through the howling savages until he came to an officer, to whom he surrendered. When asked who he was he told his name. Many men were now raging about the ship howling for Kniphoff, so the officer, with great presence of mind, at once shouted aloud, "I take you as my prisoner, Heinrich Möller," and, protecting him from attack, took him in a small boat to one of the German ships where he concealed him, and thus, for the time, saved his life.

In this picture of the savage barbarity of the Hamburgers, who, led by Cord Blum, one of their captains, raged about, killing all they could find and hacking wounded and dead men with their hatchets, this ready-witted, cool, grey-bearded, nameless officer, and Ditmar Kohl, who commanded the ship where Kniphoff was concealed and protected him from the fury of the others, stand out in welcome relief. The blackest deed is yet to be told. Two days after, many prisoners were murdered in cold blood on two or three of the Hamburg ships.¹ On the admiral's ship and on that of Ditmar Kohl the prisoners were well treated. The victorious fleet, with its four captured vessels, was met at the mouth of the Elbe by a deputation. On Sunday, October 22, the prisoners, escorted by the crews of all the Hamburg ships, were conducted through the Millergate to the city hall. The guilds with their banners, the burgomasters and senators, and the whole population, in gala attire, paraded the streets. Flags were flying everywhere. It was the greatest naval victory the Germans ever won, and the people of Hamburg were wild with joy and pride.

Von Kniphoff and his two surviving officers, von Putlitz and von Sydow, marched at the head of the prisoners, who followed

¹ In *The Times*, Nov. 4, 1913, Sir Cyprian Bridges says: "Prisoners captured in sea fights were thrown overboard and drowned by most naval victors till near the end of the sixteenth century."

tied together, two by two, to a long rope. Few as they were they were guarded by five companies of soldiers. In front of the city hall the procession halted, the few surviving wounded were brought up and placed beside the other prisoners, where they were inspected by the burgomasters, senators, and all others in authority, after which they were put in prison.

That same day a despatch arrived from Count Edzard of East Frisia demanding that Kniphoff, his ships and his men, be at once delivered to his agents, as they had been captured within a few yards of his coast, which was quite true. The senate replied that they had a right to pursue and capture pirates anywhere on the high seas. This showed that they proposed to treat their prisoners as pirates.

The reigning king of Denmark wrote demanding that the captives should all be executed at once, which was much more to the taste of Hamburg at that time.

October 24, the captured flags were taken, with great pomp and military music, and hung in the cathedral.

October 25, von Kniphoff was brought to trial. The senate had determined what to do, and they were anxious to do it before there could be any further interference by foreign powers.

Von Kniphoff defended himself ably. He denied having committed any act of piracy, asserting that he acted only as the commissioned admiral of the navy of his master, the King of Denmark, who was at war with the Germans. He had treated every ship he had taken as a ship captured in war, and all their officers and crews had been treated as prisoners of war, and as such he claimed a right to be treated, and to have his officers and men treated. His commission, and all his letters and official documents, which had been captured, confirmed these statements; but his fate was determined before he opened his mouth. The accusers said that he had made war without declaring it, that he had been warned to leave Holland by the regent because he was recognized as a pirate, and that a pirate he was. And so he was condemned to die as a pirate, and, to save time, sixteen of his followers, who had not been tried, were condemned at the same time. Jurgen Plate and Albert Westede were the judges guilty of this remarkable verdict, but the whole senate agreed to it.

When von Kniphoff heard the verdict he appealed to the council, who confirmed the action of the court. Failing to get justice, von Kniphoff appealed for mercy—not for himself, but for his companions, who, he said, had but obeyed his orders, and

who had had no trial and no chance of defence. He was again taken to prison.

Meanwhile, though the senate had been so expeditious, appeals came pouring in, in quite a different tone from that of the Danish usurper. The city of Malmö offered a large ransom for von Kniphoff. This sum being refused, the city of Malmö used it to endow a charitable institution as a memorial to the unfortunate admiral. Many of the great nobles who were near enough came or wrote to Hamburg in his behalf. It is said that the regent of the Netherlands wrote, asking for lenient treatment; but, if so, the request must have arrived much too late.

As an only act of grace they agreed to kill the admiral first, as he said it would break his heart to see his friends and faithful followers die.

Early in the morning of October 30 he was led to the place where criminals were executed, and then his head was cut off. One hour later, sixteen of his followers were executed. On November 10, forty-six were hung. Later, a number were set free, but still later Captain Simon Gans and eleven others were beheaded.

Two only seem to have come out of the affair with enviable distinction: the unknown officer who saved von Kniphoff's life,

and Captain Ditmar Kohl, in whose ship the prisoner was concealed, and who protected him against his own superior officer, although he was powerless to protect him from the all-powerful senate. This gentleman received a considerable sum in prize money, and his conduct was praised and esteemed by the few better Ham-



SILVER WARE OF THE MERCHANTS' SHIPPING GUILD

burgers. He was elected a member of the council, and took an active part in introducing the new doctrines of Martin Luther into Hamburg. In 1539 he was admiral of a fleet which succeeded in preventing the Pfalsgrave from crossing the Elbe and invading Holstein. In 1548 he became

burgomaster. In 1559 he commanded the garrison which successfully defended the Moorburg when it was attacked by Otto, duke of Lüneberg. In 1562, when very old, he went as ambassador to Copenhagen, where death closed his honourable career in 1563. One of the great buoys at the mouth of the Elbe was called the Ditmar Kohl in his honour.

CHAPTER X

THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION

MARTIN LUTHER's writings began to have an effect in Hamburg as early as 1521, when Dr. Stemmell, rector of St. Catherine's and vicar of the cathedral, began preaching against the immoralities and laxness of the clergy, and the scandals in connection with the sales of indulgences. He was an old man, and under the priestly persecution which followed he was compelled to give up his offices and his work.

Two laymen, Detloff Schuldorp and a goldsmith named Dyrich Ostorp, read and were convinced of the truth of the doctrines of the Reformation before any one else in Hamburg, and they invited a monk named Wyddenbrügge to visit them. He came in 1523. He was not permitted to preach, but he taught and talked. Two priests, Dr. Engelhin and Dr. Kissenbrügge, challenged the monk to a discussion, which was so generally favourable to the monk that the preaching order, the Dominicans, who had a monastery in Hamburg, challenged him to another debate. In this also the audience thought the reformer had the advantage, but a priest who was present rose and declared that "a fool can deny more than all the wise men can prove." Nevertheless many people began to read and ponder the "fool's" denials.

The school question was much mixed up with the question of Church reform in Hamburg at this time. In 1281 a second school had been founded in Hamburg, much against the wishes of the cathedral clergy, who up to that time controlled the only school, and did it very badly. The new one was a grammar school in the Neustadt, and was authorized by a papal bull which made it independent of the cathedral. The cathedral clergy, with the so-called scholasticus—or school superintendent—after a bitter fight succeeded in getting control of the new

school, and cut it down to a mere primary school where small children were taught to read, write and cipher. This state of things went on getting gradually worse, as the scholasticus misappropriated more and more of the funds and lowered the standard, until 1552, when a number of citizens complained that they were obliged to send their children away from Hamburg to get an education, and insisted on founding a third school, in St. Peter's parish and independent of the scholasticus. They claimed a part of the funds, which were raised by public taxes.

The scholasticus, of course, objected. He said he alone had the control of the schools and of the school money. He had winked at the forming of small schools of a private nature by old women and others all over the town, but he could not and would not consent to this subversion of his authority and misappropriation of public money. He appealed to the archbishop.

September 1522 the vestries and many prominent citizens in all four parishes joined in a protest. They complained of the way the cathedral authorities neglected their work, of the way they arbitrarily removed and appointed clergy. Also of the way the scholasticus managed the schools, appointing cheap and unsuitable teachers. They declared that they had solemnly bound themselves together to demand, firstly, that the cathedral authorities should—acting with the parish authorities—appoint to each of the parish churches a learned, pious and virtuous pastor, capable of preaching the word of God and willing to do so. He must be a pastor agreeable to the authorities of each parish, and must not be dismissed against the will of those authorities. Should such unwished-for appointment or dismissal occur in any one of the parishes, they all bound themselves to join in assisting the parish aggrieved. Further, they bound themselves to establish a new school in St. Peter's parish, in which the schoolmasters should be men of learning and good manners, who should be appointed or dismissed by the senate. The senate should also resume its ancient right of control of the school of St. Nicholas.

A few days later two citizens, vestrymen of St. Nicholas, notified the senate that they had appointed a new Latin master and a new writing master to that school, and requested the chapter to deduct their salaries from the education funds paid to the scholasticus.

The scholasticus was very angry, and shortly after complained to the senate that the churchwardens had forcibly entered the

school with a notary and witnesses and had formally installed their new teachers. Shortly after this the scholasticus, with a body of soldiers, drove out the new schoolmaster and reinstated his own man.

The quarrel went on. The scholasticus claimed that ancient custom justified him; the wardens claimed to act under the bull issued by the pope in 1281. They also declared that the school and the church were built on public ground belonging to the city. Both buildings had been erected by public subscription. The archbishop of Bremen had never had any jurisdiction over them, therefore he had never had any right to appoint the scholasticus; and they demanded that he should return all moneys that he had received because of his connection with that school.

The quarrel went on growing more and more bitter as time passed. The citizens were all interested, and most of them sided with the churchwardens. In January 1523 the cathedral chapter called a meeting, which was largely attended by citizens, who demanded that the scholasticus should be summoned to attend; but when he was sent for, it was found that he had fled and taken refuge in Schwerin. The archbishop admonished the citizens, but no attention was paid to him.

This being the state of feeling in the city, it is not surprising that the new doctrines of Martin Luther found ready acceptance. The people were ripe to receive them. Indeed, so were many of the clergy. The cathedral chapter, in July 1523, decided that the income of the scholasticus should be impounded and used to refund the churchwardens who had been paying the expenses of the school during the struggle. The scholasticus appealed to Rome. The pope revoked the decision of the chapter and summoned the churchwardens to appear before him, within sixty days, to answer the charges. As no attention was paid to this, other mandates issued from the papal auditor during 1524, with the result that a compromise was come to in December of that year. All processes, suits and fines were abandoned; peace was declared. The scholasticus, under protest, abandoned all claim to authority over the St. Nicholas school or its funds.

But the trouble was only beginning; the people were thoroughly aroused by the conduct of the scholasticus and the clergy, and John Wegedorn worked upon this feeling until he induced a number of prominent men to join him in inviting Dr. Johann Bugenhagen of Wittenberg to come and fill the vacant pulpit of the church of St. Nicholas.

The university of Wittenberg would not part with Bugenhagen permanently, but gave him six months' leave to go on a mission to Hamburg. The senate of Hamburg, not yet reformed, wrote warning Bugenhagen that they did not recognize the authority of those who had called him, nor did they wish him to come. Thereupon Bugenhagen declined to go, but



BRICK HOUSE IN HAMBURG

wrote a long and searching epistle to the city of Hamburg, which attracted much attention and led to a very bitter controversy between Bugenhagen and Augustin von Ghetelen, one of the leading Dominican monks in Hamburg.

In 1525 the Reformation was first formally preached in Hamburg by Stephan Kempe, an eloquent Franciscan monk. All Hamburg crowded to hear him at the monastery of Mary Magdalene. The Dominicans in the monastery of St. John and

most of the city clergy opposed him. They denounced him as an enemy of the Church from every other pulpit in the city, save that one of the clergy of St. Catherine's joined in the demand for reform. Practically the whole population followed these two. St. Nicholas's and St. Catherine's could not hold the crowds who went to hear the novel doctrines, whilst the other churches were empty. Attempts were made by the cathedral chapter to bribe these two apostles by offers of high preferment, but without result. The reformers introduced a printing press, which spread their precepts far and wide, so that by 1526 it was already apparent that the majority of the people favoured the Reformation.

The people, through elected representatives, demanded of the government the right of each parish to choose its own clergy, "to preach the Gospel to them." That same year two parishes put their words into action. St. James's invited Johannes Fritz of Lübeck and St. Catherine's called Dr. Ziegenhagen of Magdeburg, both reformers.

The latter preached so boldly that the senate tried to silence him by forbidding him to preach. The churchwardens of the four parishes united in demanding a reason for this action. The answer was that Ziegenhagen had administered the sacrament in a manner forbidden by the Church; that is, he had given both bread and wine to the laity. This failed to satisfy the people. But the cathedral clergy and the Dominicans urged the senate to further action. Ziegenhagen was ordered to leave the city within three days. The people assembled and demanded that the senate should meet them. A committee of forty citizens met the senators. The committee asked why Ziegenhagen was banished, and were told because he preached doctrines which were harmful for the people, as, if allowed to go on, the city would assuredly be placed under ban by both pope and emperor, and all would suffer.

Wegedorn, as mouthpiece of the people, said these were not things to be taken into consideration. The people believed in the truth and honesty of Ziegenhagen; they had chosen him for their pastor, they had a right to choose him, and they did not mean to let him go. The senate was intimidated, and agreed to permit the pastor to remain and to preach wherever the people might wish. Shortly after the much more important living of St. Nicholas fell vacant, and Ziegenhagen was unanimously chosen to fill the vacancy. The senate again interfered, but was again compelled to yield.

Thus two of the four great parishes had reformed pastors, and great was the indignation of the other two pastors and of the clergy of the smaller chapels, the convents, the monasteries and the cathedral. They denounced the newcomers as heretics and infidels. The whole community was violently excited, and the senate dreaded civil war.

The clergy continued to rage and to abuse each other. Canon Bustorp so exceeded in this sort of warfare that he was called before a synod convened by the burgomaster and composed of all the clergy in Hamburg, and was sentenced to apologize and to withdraw his offensive remarks. This he promised to do, but did not fulfil his promise until seven years later.

Meantime the reformers grew steadily in numbers and influence. December 18 they succeeded in passing an ordinance by which the moneys raised by the rates for schools and for helping the poor were no longer given over to the clergy—including the scholasticus—but were managed by a committee composed of laymen who were holders of entailed property in the city.

Kempe was not the only Franciscan monk in Hamburg who left the monastery and openly adopted the Lutheran teachings; but, on the other hand, the Dominicans who occupied the St. John's monastery were by far the most virulent in their denunciation of the new doctrines and their advocates. One of these, Rensburg, was so violent that the senate suspended him, thus depriving him of the right to preach. This stirred up great feeling among the orthodox, among whom was Burgomaster Salzburg, who was furious at having been outvoted in the senate and planned to bring about riots, during which the leaders of the Protestants, lay and clerical, were to be "made away with." One of the conspirators betrayed the plot, and the houses of the proposed victims were filled with armed friends until the period of danger had passed.

The senate professed to know nothing of this plot, and tried to quell the storm by another theological debate. The matter was of the keenest interest to every one. The debate began at seven in the morning and lasted until four the next morning, yet the largest rooms in the city were closely packed with anxious citizens. The citizens and senators present reluctantly decided that the theological questions discussed were too subtle for them to pronounce upon, and that they could only decide upon the letter of the Gospel as it was printed.

As the papal clergy claimed that the Church was their

authority and not the Gospel, the great majority of those present declared in favour of the Lutherans, and said that they could not come and spend every day like this, and so they demanded that the senate should once for all forbid the clergy still holding with Rome to make any further disturbance by "preaching against God's Word." They insisted that the five most virulent of them should be banished from Hamburg. The senate was obliged to submit. The priests were conducted safely through the angry mob to their homes, and the next day the five leaders left the city. A few days later several others followed them voluntarily. One of these, Dr. Barthold Moller, afterwards became rector of the university of Rostock and a Protestant.

Burgomaster Salzburg, at the head of a small minority of the senate, still bitterly opposed Lutheranism and still plotted to overcome it, so far as Hamburg was concerned, by killing the leaders. At last his case was taken in hand, and the citizens demanded that first he should be called upon to pay all his debts, and after that his conduct should be investigated. Numerous changes in the senate and in the ordinances were also demanded. The senate replied that, so far as the demands referring to Burgomaster Salzburg and to the method of choosing a burgomaster and the increase of the number of senators were concerned, they should have their best attention at once. Regarding fourteen other demands, they wished time for consideration. The citizens were not satisfied, and demanded immediate action. The great majority were now Protestants, and they were determined to have a large majority of Protestants in the senate. This could be gained by the deposition of Salzburg and the addition to the number of senators. All the new ones would be sure to be of the popular religion. The council or senate yielded, and decided that the religious affairs of the city should be wholly reorganized on a reformed basis, and Dr. Johannes Bugenhagen was formally invited to undertake this work. He accepted and arrived in Hamburg in October, and was received with great respect and enthusiasm. Three burgomasters met him and presented him with a cask of wine, two tuns of beer and a fat ox.

The learned doctor had his work cut out for him, but he did it, and did it well. He had to entirely reorganize the school system, as well as the liturgy and ritual of the churches. Of course, the cathedral chapter, and all other remaining priests of the old order and a small number of laymen, opposed him openly and secretly in every way they could. The Franciscan

monks of St. Mary Magdalene's one and all adopted the Reformation, and the Dominicans of St. John's one and all opposed it. The Beguins—or Blue Sisters—also "reformed." The old forms and ritual were abolished in all the churches, and the butchers were licensed to sell meat on Fridays and in Lent. In general the changes were peaceably carried out, but a mob destroyed or removed everything belonging to the old services from the chapel of the Holy Ghost, when the priests endeavoured to continue as they had been in the habit of doing. Altars, confessionals, pictures, censers and statues were forcibly removed.

On St. Thomas's Day, December 21, the mob destroyed the high altar and many ornaments in the cathedral. Nevertheless the old mass and ritual were still celebrated in the cathedral, but nowhere else in Hamburg.

The cathedral clergy brought suit before the High Court of the empire for restoration of all their incomes, possessions, privileges, perquisites, and for the value of such things as had been destroyed.

Meantime the Reformation—both secular and municipal—went rapidly forward. Bugenhagen's covenant was adopted and was the ecclesiastical law of the city for several hundred years. The Dominicans were evicted, and a high school was established in their monastery, where Latin and music were the chief studies, and the acting of Latin plays was encouraged. In 1613 this school was enlarged into a complete gymnasium, or high school.

Nehtsen, whose account of this period I have followed, attributes the excellence of the Hamburg stage in modern times to this patronage of acting in the schools by Bugenhagen. Indeed, Luther himself advocated the acting of plays and seeing them acted as an important part of his school system, and it may well be that the Lutheran reformers are largely responsible for the excellence of the German theatre and for the position which has been given the stage, in many parts of Germany, as next in importance to the Church and the school.

Bugenhagen changed the St. Nicholas school into what was called a German school, where no Latin was taught.

A vast number of holidays were abolished. It had been the custom to take three days each at Easter, Whit-Sunday and Christmas. These were reduced by law to two each. Seven other days in each year were set apart as holidays, and all the other saints' days were declared to be ordinary working days.

In 1530 the last of the monasteries were closed. The nuns of

Reinbeck distinguished themselves by smashing all the windows and all of the furniture before leaving their convent. Nevertheless the abbot—for these nuns had an abbot, or provost—continued to draw his salary until his life's end.

The Cistercian convent at Harvestehude gave more trouble. Some of the nuns fled, but most of them refused to go; and after a while Burgomaster Salzburg and others of his sort made the convent a centre for plotting outrages. When the patience of the senate was exhausted a committee of leading citizens was appointed to act, which they did by levelling the convent to the ground. The nuns were given a home in a part of the monastery of St. John.

Meantime Hamburg had so thoroughly and satisfactorily adopted the Reformation that other cities who wished to follow her example begged for aid and advice, and two of her greatest reformers had leave of absence given them. Steffen Kempe went as evangelist to Lüneburg and Bugenhagen to Lübeck.

One reason for the quick and lasting success of the Lutherans in Hamburg was the fact that they came not merely as religious, but also as political, reformers. Church offices were notoriously filled by men and women unfit for their places, and there was much simony, corruption and general slackness. The same, in a less degree, was the case with the municipal government. The reformers cleaned up everything, many municipal evils were wiped out, the personnel of the officials was investigated and improved. The people, high and low, were delighted when they saw abuses, ancient and new alike, swept from the churches and the council house, and they gave their support heartily to the reformers, although in the midst of the work the city was visited by a pestilence known as the "English sickness" and by a famine. Instead of blaming these on the reformers, as has often been the case, the citizens, through their guilds, co-operated with the senate in fighting the evils.

Salzburg continued to be burgomaster and to evolve ineffectual plots until 1531, when he resigned by request. This brought practical unity into the government and among the people. Two new and important works were begun that year. The fortifications were strengthened and modernized, and a new water supply for the city was procured.

It was decided to be for the good of the Church and the city that there should be some one recognized head, and a bishop, or superintendent, was chosen. Bugenhagen was the first choice, but he preferred to go back to his university work at Witten-

berg, so Dr. Johannes Æpinus was chosen. This eminent man, it is said, was consulted by Henry VIII. of England as to the reorganization of the Church in England, and many of his suggestions were adopted.

Thus Hamburg was completely organized on the basis of



DR. JOHANN ÆPINUS

reform in State and Church. Meanwhile the collegiate body of the cathedral had brought suit before the high courts of the empire for restoration of rights and property, and had won. The city asked for and received a certain period of time before further proceedings and tried to compromise, but the triumphant clergy refused. They demanded restitution of all churches and all property, all moneys, principal and interest; in fact, everything.

The city's reply to this was a defiance of the authority of the court and the empire, and an application for admission to the Smalkald Union, at the head of which were the protesting princes John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and Landgrave Philipp of

Hesse. Hamburg was formally received into the Union November 16, 1535.

Meantime Christian II., in spite of the tragic fate of Kniphoff, had continued his efforts to regain his kingdoms; and now he became the candidate of the Catholic powers, whilst the Protestants and the Smalkald Union favoured his rival, who was in possession.

Christian's ships, under Sören Norbye and several other captains, preyed upon the German ships in the Baltic and the North Sea, and were backed by the German emperor and Catholic German princes.

Christian met with friends who backed him liberally, and in 1531 he himself led an expedition of twenty large ships and 7000 men. He landed in Norway. Lübeck, with most of the Baltic towns, joined King Frederick to fight Christian, but insisted that the king must also declare war against Holland and prohibit all Dutch ships from entering the Baltic. Hamburg, Lüneburg and Rostock declined to join this alliance, or to declare war against Holland.

Frederick captured several Dutch ships in the Sound, and the emperor, in consequence, confiscated or embargoed all ships and goods of the Wendish cities.

July 9, 1524, at a conference held in Copenhagen, Sweden, Denmark, Lübeck, Rostock, Wismar and Stralsund signed an alliance against Christian II. and the duke. Hamburg refused to sign, and an angry interchange of views took place between Wullenweber, the burgomaster of Lübeck, and the Hamburg ambassador, Westede. From that time the relations between Lübeck and Hamburg were strained and even unfriendly.

Meantime Christian II. had landed in Norway, had been well received, and had made several damaging raids into Sweden; but his finances gave out and his army mutinied. At that moment he was invited to a conference at Copenhagen with King Frederick and representatives of Sweden, France, Prussia and the Danish and Holstein nobility. He accepted the offer of safe conduct, and attended the conference July 25, 1532. To the lasting disgrace of all but himself, his safe conduct was ignored, and he was taken prisoner and sent to the castle of Sonderburg. He was kept close prisoner in different prisons until his death in 1539.

The treacherous allies did not prosper. Denmark demanded an indemnity of 300,000 florins from Holland, which was refused. Lübeck busily prepared for war, but Frederick, having removed

his rival, Christian, no longer was keen to fight, and kept postponing the beginning of the war until April of the next year, 1533, when he died and was succeeded by his son Christian III., a pronounced Protestant, who allied himself with the Landgrave Philipp of Hesse. He made peace with Hamburg and Holland, and tried to unite Sweden and Hamburg, Holland and the emperor, in a league against Lübeck, which, since the Reformation, had become thoroughly democratic and was more than ever obnoxious to the king and nobles.

Under her energetic burgomaster, Wullenweber, Lübeck found herself, deserted by all the other towns, engaged in a war with Sweden and Denmark and Holland, with hostile or unfriendly neighbours and an inimical emperor.

The imprisoned, betrayed King Christian II. was popular with the Danish people, but hated by the nobles. Lübeck took up his cause, and thus brought civil war into Denmark. She hired Prince Christopher of Oldenburg to go with 3000 men to Denmark and release Christian II., he successfully attacked several towns, but when Christian III.'s general, von Rantzau, met him, Christopher retired. He occupied Copenhagen, and, betraying Lübeck, he began intriguing for the Danish crown for himself.

The plucky and well-devised plans of Wullenweber and his general, Marx Meyer, seemed to be frequently on the point of being realized, but they were betrayed on all sides. When they thought their hireling, Prince Christopher, was doing their work in Denmark, he was really plotting against them.

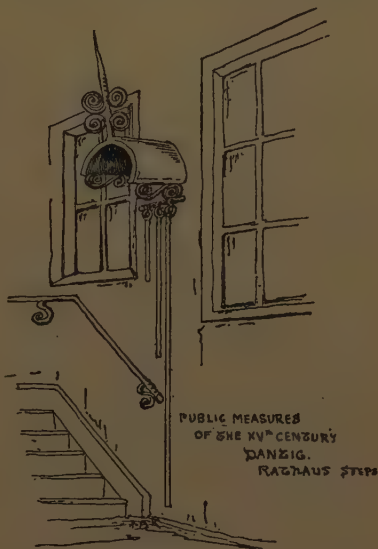
The Baltic cities allowed themselves to be persuaded by their aristocratic and princely neighbours to hold aloof. Hamburg, largely influenced by Westede, who disliked and distrusted Wullenweber, withdrew her promised support. Worst of all, during Wullenweber's absence at the front, the reactionaries at home stirred up insurrection and revolt in Lübeck, and Wullenweber was deposed, the unreformed party returned. The bigoted Burgomaster Brömse regained power, and used it unscrupulously. General Meyer, when he surrendered after the complete defeat of Lübeck, was imprisoned, tortured and executed, it is said, at the request of Brömse; and Wullenweber was captured when peacefully travelling through part of the archbishop of Bremen's territory, and after frequent torturing was killed, in spite of vigorous protests from Henry VIII. of England and other Protestant princes.

With the failure of this effort of Wullenweber's the power of the Hansa was utterly broken, but Hamburg had for a long

time been slowly assuming a place for herself, apart from the League. She had refused to join in numerous wars and demonstrations advised by the League; she had made friends with England and Holland against the expressed policy of the League; and when Lübeck fell, Hamburg was so well prepared as not to suffer too much from the shock.

In spite of her humiliation, Lübeck, under Brömse, endeavoured to carry on business in the old way: to bully every one, and to have a monopoly of the trade of the countries with which she dealt. Her merchants then and for a long time after were incapable of adapting themselves to the new order, and she rapidly fell to a position of no importance. Hamburg, on the other hand, was adaptable, and succeeded in keeping her share of trade, and in bringing to Germany a great share of the English cloth trade, which had formerly been entirely in the hands of Antwerp and Bruges. Lübeck complained to the Hansa, which had lost all its power and most of its terrors; and the complaint is almost pathetic: "Hamburg brings English cloth direct from the makers and sells it here and in Lievland and other places, which is in every respect highly objectionable, because thereby our cloth trade (through Antwerp) has been ruined and brought to naught."

Hamburg had completely broken away from the old traditions. Instead of accepting her share of trade, as allotted to her by the League, and confining herself to a few towns, her merchants began to venture in many directions new to Hamburg. Bavaria, the Rhein, Hungary, Poland, Silesia, had all "belonged" to other cities, but now Hamburg solicited and obtained part of their export and import trade. She obtained almost the whole trade with the Netherlands, which she had hitherto shared with the



OFFICIAL MEASURING RODS, DANZIG

Baltic cities. A merchants' exchange was founded in 1558, long before such a thing was known in most of her rival cities. The reaction which had induced Lübeck to betray Wullenweber and ruin his plans for her aggrandizement had also led to the narrow conservatism which completed her own downfall.

CHAPTER XI

TROUBLOUS TIMES

WHEN Christian III. had dispersed his enemies and numerous rivals he was formally crowned with great state by the famous Dr. Bugenhagen. Hamburg sent two special ambassadors to the coronation.

May 1, 1538, the king and queen came to Hamburg with a guard of five hundred horsemen and many nobles. The Duke of Lüneburg came at the same time, but made a separate entry. There were heralds, trumpeters, drummers, and a stately procession received at the gates by two burgomasters, Westede and Rodenborg, and seventeen prominent citizens, with an orchestra of string and wind instruments. The royal couple lodged at the house of Mr. Eberhard Hugo. The duke put up with Jürgen von Zeven. The hop market had been turned into lists with a racecourse around it. The high and mighty visitors attended church in the morning and the races afterwards. The king tried to make peace between the city and the cathedral clergy, but the latter refused to make any concessions, saying that they had no authority to do so.

There was a great court held May 4 in the Rathaus after a solemn service in St. Nicholas's Church. The king and his followers sat on one side of the great hall, and on the other were the burgomasters, the senate and eighty leading citizens. The king's chancellor demanded that the city should do homage to the king. The oldest burgomaster, Hohusen, declared that, as a free city of the empire, Hamburg owed fealty to no one, but she was prepared, as heretofore, to recognize the Duke of Holstein, who was also King of Denmark, as protector and ally, and she begged the king to accept this and confirm and protect the city's privileges. The king declared himself satisfied. The necessary formalities were carried out, and wine and confectionery were distributed. The king then invited all

present to dine with him the next evening, and the assembly broke up. That evening the city gave a ball and banquet, attended by all the visitors.

May 5, being Sunday, the king and queen, the Duke of Lüneburg and the Duke of Lauenburg, who had now also arrived, attended a special service and sermon in the cathedral. At ten A.M. the king entertained twenty citizens at dinner. Afterwards everybody went to the hop market, where a tournament was held. The king was in gala armour, the two dukes were his shield-bearers. Young nobles, masked as Moors, with pearls in their hair, and dressed in white with gold chains, ran beside him. Many knights took part in the tilting. The king challenged Ritter Christian von Veltheim and hurled him from his saddle; but he came to the ground himself at the same time. After successfully unhorsing another knight he retired. The dukes also took part. Afterwards there was a banquet and dancing until ten at night. Things went gaily enough, for the king pulled out the fastenings of the ladies' hair, and before the evening was over the queen and all the ladies were dancing with their hair flying loosely about them.

Next day the king and dukes again took part in the tournament from two to five, and again it was followed by banquet and ball. Twice again during the intervals of gaiety the king tried to bring the cathedral chapter to a compromise, but they demanded complete restitution of all churches and property, and payment for damages as well as banishment of the Protestant clergy, and the king gave up his efforts. May 9, the royalties left the city with as much state and ceremony as had attended their arrival.

Three years before this, in 1535, the first Protestant Synod met in Hamburg, the first at least in Northern Germany. On April 15, the bishops or superintendents of Lübeck, Bremen, Hamburg, Rostock, Stralsund and Lüneberg met and discussed theological problems which were pressing, burning questions then, but of no interest now. Their conclusions formed the ecclesiastical law in Northern Germany for many years.

Of course the clergy were regaled with a banquet, and as the menu has been preserved it may interest readers and convince us that teetotalism and even moderate temperance was not taught in those days.

There were six guests of honour, a number of local clergy,

several senators and a few unofficial leading laymen. Altogether not more than twenty. For the dinner there was provided three-quarters of a deer, half a calf, a lamb, a round of beef, a meat stew, several pikes, vegetables, cabbage, bread *ad lib.*, cakes, and four pounds of confectionery for dessert. To prepare these good things the cooks used four pounds of bacon, eggs, butter, vinegar, wine and parsley. There was also twenty-four bottles of ordinary wine, twenty-four bottles fine claret and a tun of beer.

In 1547 Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew, visited Hamburg. He was a very quiet retiring man, much interested in the Lutheran services which he attended constantly, and was so attentive to the sermons as to make the preachers nervous. He refused to receive gifts, and lived in quiet lodgings. When questioned by two very learned men, Mathew Delius, rector of the school, and Paul von Eitzen, who later became superintendent of Schleswig, his answers concerning the history of the time of Christ and since were not only correct, but full of astonishingly minute details, so that the two scholars were convinced that they really saw before them the Wandering Jew. After some months he disappeared as quietly as he had come.

At that period the Schmalkald Union was at war with the emperor and the Roman Catholic princes. All Germany was at war, civil war, if the Germany of that day could be called a country, when each of its many component parts made peace and war as it seemed fit without consulting the other parts or the nominal head.

In the early part of the year 1547 it was rumoured that the emperor was planning an expedition again Lower Saxony in general, but especially against the rich Hanse cities, Bremen and Hamburg. Hamburg enlisted men and strengthened her walls.

The rumour soon proved to be true, and the imperial army under Wrisberg and the Duke of Brunswick laid siege to Bremen.

The Protestants assembled an army under Count Albrecht von Mansfeld. Hamburg had her troops ready, and sent twelve hundred and fifty foot soldiers, mostly sailors out of work, and three hundred cavalry. She also sent seven armed ships to keep the Weser river open so that Bremen could renew her supplies.

The troops, with six pieces of artillery, were commanded by



CORNER HOUSE

Although most of the beautiful old houses in Hamburg were destroyed by the fire of 1842, there are still whole streets of picturesque and ancient buildings to be found there.

Colonel or General Penningk. They marched from Hamburg April 29 to join Mansfeld's other troops. Wrisberg sent troops to attack them, but the raw Hamburg volunteers bore themselves well and drove the enemy before them, and soon joined the main army.

In the famous but useless battle of Drakenburg, near Hoya, May 24, 1547, they did good service and helped win that great victory, and received much praise.

Count Mansfeld called Penningk up before the army, hung a gold medal round his neck, and presented his son, whose horse had been killed, with a white horse, or *schimmel*, as it is called in German. From that time forwards the father was known as Gulden Penningk, and the son—and his family—as Schimmel Penningk, a name well known on both sides the ocean, as one of his descendants was a general officer in the American Civil War.

The victorious army marched to Bremen, where it was received with joy.

From there the Hamburgers went home, and the seven ships also went home.

For six or seven years the whole of North Germany had been overrun by bands of mercenaries, sometimes in the pay of a Protestant prince, sometimes in the pay of a Roman Catholic prince, sometimes between their engagements roaming about and living on the country. There was no peace or security anywhere, and now it was worse. The victory of the Protestants at Drakenburg was preceded by the defeat of the Protestants at Mühlberg, where the Elector of Saxony was captured, and was followed by the breaking up of the Protestant league and the efforts of the component parts to make peace with the tricky Emperor Charles V. Hamburg, among the rest, tried to get the best possible terms, but found that she had incurred the special hatred of the emperor. However, through the help of the king, Christian III., of Denmark, they succeeded in getting pardoned, on condition of doing homage and paying sixty thousand gulden fine. The other cities held back until the autumn of 1549, and then found it impossible to get any terms. The emperor had evidently made up his mind to wipe them out. He wrote to the King of England in September of that year that he would render the rebellious cities harmless. His friend and ally, the Duke of Brunswick, shared his views, and in 1550 he besieged the city of Brunswick for eight weeks unsuccessfully. He gave up the attempt and disbanded his army, which was,

however, at once hired by Duke Jürgen of Mecklenburg, who laid siege to Magdeburg, which was still under the emperor's ban, as was Bremen. The Protestant towns and princes who had recently made their peace were forced to assist in reducing Magdeburg. Hamburg sent her unwilling contingent; the Elector of Saxony and the Margrave of Brandenburg were also there. The citizens succeeded in capturing the commander, Duke Jürgen, but had later to submit to Moritz of Saxony, who put a small Saxon garrison in the city.

Shortly after this Moritz was once more at the head of a combination against the emperor, who narrowly escaped capture and was compelled to surrender the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, whom he had kept in prison with threats of death hanging over them for years.

Count Mansfeld, with an army raised in France, then ravaged North Germany. He entered Hamburg as a friend, but refused to leave until he had received a large sum of money. He drove the Roman Catholic Duke of Brunswick out of his country and visited the people with fire, sword and pillage. Then his funds gave out, and his army melted away.

The Duke of Brunswick meanwhile had raised an army and ravaged the dioceses of Osnabrück, Minden and Münster. Then he combined with other princes and fought the Margrave, who was defeated after a bloody battle at Siewershausen; and again at Riddagshausen. The triumphant Duke of Brunswick took possession of his sadly devastated land and made his city of Brunswick pay him a fine of 80,000 thalers.

Then he undertook to punish the cities which had helped drive him out of his land. He first took possession of Bergedorf, the joint property of Hamburg and Lübeck, and those two cities were obliged to pay him 26,000 thalers to go away. He then invaded Mecklenburg, pillaging, and then directed his steps toward Bremen. He made an attempt to surprise Hamburg, but failed, and continued threatening and bullying the towns and living on the country until the so-called Peace of Religions of September 1555 at Augsburg.

During these many years the condition of Germany, especially northern and central Germany, was dreadful. It was worse than the present condition of some of the central American states. Every small ruler was a law unto himself. No one was safe, no property was secure. The Duke of Brunswick fought the Duke of Lüneburg. Mecklenburg was in arms against Brandenburg; the lords were opposed to the cities, the

Protestants to the Roman Catholics, everybody to everybody. Men were afraid to trust each other in any way. The lands were devastated, the people were killed, or pressed into the service of some soldier, or driven for refuge to some town. Wild beasts roamed where farms had been. On February 10, 1557, a woman walking with her maid just outside the walls of Hamburg was killed by a wolf.

Hamburg had at that time many country houses outside the walls which belonged to wealthy citizens. In 1557 roving bands of robbers were so bold that they plundered and burned five or six of these houses which stood on what is now the renowned Jungfern Stieg.

Meantime the city was active. A large additional tax was levied and collected with little difficulty, as every one recognized the necessity for being prepared. The old walls were strengthened, new walls protected outlying parts of the city and, during this century, Hamburg was made into a very strong up-to-date fortress. Sentinels were kept constantly on the walls and the gates were closed every night at sundown, and at such times during the day as were likely to find the citizens occupied in some especial way, such as during church service on Sundays, at any time of insurrection, or when there was a house on fire or an execution taking place. This continued until 1798, when the senate ordained that one gate, the Steinthor, should be open all night. It was not, however, until 1841 that all the gates were open at all times, only that after dark an entrance fee was charged: two Hamburg schillings before ten, four schillings between ten and eleven, and six schillings after eleven. The Hamburg schilling was a coin of much less value than the English shilling. This toll, or entrance tax, was not finally removed until December 31, 1860.

In spite of wars and preparations for wars, the works of peace were not entirely abandoned, and in 1525 an important engineering work was begun, viz. a canal connecting the Hamburg river Alster with the Lübeck river Trave, entering the latter at the Holstein town of Oldersloe. Lübeck and Hamburg undertook the work on equal terms, and the King of Denmark contributed twelve hundred logs and supplied five hundred men for the work. The first ship from Lübeck, via Oldersloe, to Hamburg passed through the canal in 1529.

The Stecknitz canal, finished in 1398, had joined the Trave and the Elbe, but it was only for small boats, whereas sea-going ships could use the new waterway, which was at once of great

importance and continued to be so until 1550, when some of the numerous armies destroyed the locks, and citizens of Lübeck are accused of having filled up a portion of it, "out of hatred to Hamburg."

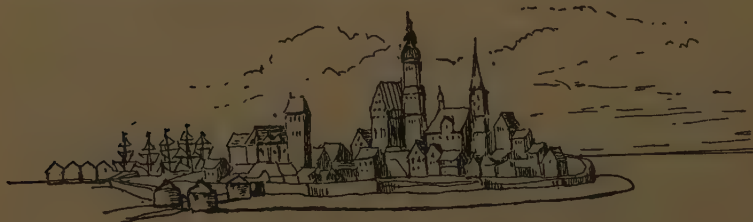
In order to build this canal it was necessary to regulate the Alster, and in doing this a large tract of swampy land was drained, two great basins were formed, the outer and inner Alster basins, and the city thus acquired what now form its most beautiful and original features.

In 1558 the Börse, or Merchants' Exchange, was founded, and it has grown steadily in importance and is to-day the centre of Hamburg's vast commerce.

During and after the Reformation struggles the Hansa broke up into factions. Lübeck and the Baltic cities stood for the old ways of doing business, and were opposed by other cities, notably Hamburg. Against her the feeling, in Lübeck especially, was very bitter, but they all suffered from the growth in England of the commercial spirit and the determination to have what is now called "a place in the sun."

The Merchant Adventurers, with Sir Thomas Gresham at their head, were determined to deprive the foreigners of their ancient privileges and to drive them from the country. They appealed to the king, who recognized their grievances, and the Privy Council declared that the privileges were forfeited. The Germans were permitted to carry on business in England, but they no longer had a monopoly, and English merchants and shippers were placed on an equal footing and competed with them in every direction, and, needless to say, the competition was very bitter. This was especially the case in regard to the transport of English goods, which had been wholly in Hanseatic hands. Lübeck and the conservatives tried to meet this by strictly prohibiting the sale of English goods which were not brought by their own ships; but Hamburg, more foreseeing, accepted the situation and allowed the Merchant Adventurers to establish a depot in Hamburg. The troubles in the Netherlands had rendered Antwerp, which had been the chief continental headquarters for the English merchants, so unsafe that they had removed to Emden. In 1565 Emden also became unsafe, and in 1567 the Merchant Adventurers made a formal contract with the city of Hamburg. The senate placed at their disposal a large house in the Gröningstrasse to be used as a warehouse and offices, and gave them the right to carry on business in Hamburg. Many of the citizens, as well as the Hanseatic

League, were bitterly opposed to this, and their opposition was such that when the contract came to an end in 1577 the senate dared not renew it, but they permitted the English quietly to remain. The situation grew more and more unpleasant, and in 1586 the Merchant Adventurers removed to Stade. This caused an outburst of rage from the Hansa. Hamburg feared she should lose the English trade, and made it a point to encourage it, and in 1611 the headquarters were moved back to Hamburg. From that time the commerce between that city and England has always been of the greatest importance, and has had much to do with Hamburg's success and the



STADE IN THE YEAR 1568

fact that she is now by far the largest commercial city in Germany.

Another reason for Hamburg's prosperity was the hospitality she showed at this time to numerous emigrants who fled from the Spanish persecutions in the Netherlands. They came in hundreds and brought with them knowledge of many trades and of the most modern business methods. Many of them returned after years of exile, but many remained, and were the ancestors of some of Hamburg's most useful and most successful citizens.

It was many years before the ordinary citizen reconciled himself to this invasion of the foreigner. In the Middle Ages the people were as exclusive as the Chinese or Japanese in the last century. When a man saw a stranger, he did as the man in *Punch* did, "'eaved 'arf a brick at him." All of the advantages of living and trading in Hamburg, said these people, belong by right to citizens of Hamburg, and no one else shall have them. The far-seeing policy of the senate was violently opposed, and frequent efforts were made to return to the good old ways. Petitions were made to the senate to forbid

foreigners to sell to other foreigners direct, or to stop them from trading at all in Germany; also to prevent foreigners from becoming citizens.

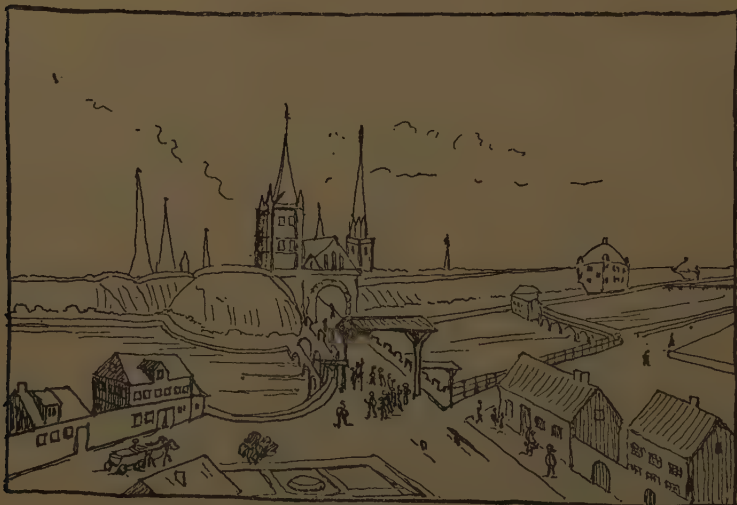
Meantime numerous new trades grew up. Brewing had been the chief manufacturing industry and beer the principal article of export. Now the import of English cloths led to the founding of large tailoring establishments; the direct import of rice, spices and other goods from the far East, which had formerly gone to Antwerp or Amsterdam, led to the forming of firms to buy and sell those articles, and to the establishing of factories to clean and prepare them. Brokers, commission merchants and middlemen of all kinds became necessary, and Hamburg began to be a great world's exchange. Yet the grumbling did not cease; it was done by a minority, but that minority never grew satisfied; they never ceased to grudge the business to the foreigners, and to this day you may find people in Hamburg whose attitude to all foreigners is one of envy and suspicion. Fortunately they are but few.

Whilst this was going on, the King of Denmark and Duke Adolf of Holstein-Gottorp demanded that Hamburg should declare her allegiance to the house of Holstein. In March 1556 the senate informed them that Hamburg was about to be recognized as a free city of the empire and to forego the "protection" of Holstein's rulers.

This answer annoyed the princes, and Duke Adolf, who seems to have been a petulant prince, expressed his feelings, when crossing the Elbe, by running down and sinking the only Hamburg vessel in sight. The captain of the Hamburg ship promptly fired at the duke's ship and made the duke very angry, but did no other harm. The city was glad that she had strengthened her defences, and awaited attack.

King Christian III., a peace-loving man, died early in 1559, and was succeeded by his son Frederick II. The angry duke of Holstein at once prepared for war. He told his anxious neighbours that he was going to help Philip of Spain in his war with France. The wary cities kept their eyes open and their gates closed. The duke then announced his intention of attacking Dietmarsh. In order to prevent him from acquiring that province for himself the King of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein Hadersleben joined him. They ordered "our city of Hamburg" to refrain from aiding the Dietmarshers in any way, and Hamburg obeyed. Dietmarsh submitted, and acknowledged the Holstein princes as their joint sovereigns.

In 1561 Denmark seized several Hamburg ships in the Sound, and when Hamburg sent representatives to remonstrate, refused to see them. Soon after, when the king was in



DUSTERTHOR AND MILLERNTOR IN HAMBURG IN 1587

Lüneburg for his sister's wedding, he refused to see the ambassadors from Hamburg who were there. Warned by these actions, the senate further strengthened her fortifications, and forbade the export from the city of all foodstuffs. The expected attack did not come then because Denmark quarrelled with Sweden, and a war began which lasted seven years. Hamburg felt relieved, but kept on adding to her fortifications. She also kept a body of hired troops continually. The king began to relent a little, and in July 1564 he spent two days in the city. Duke Adolf came in August, but no agreement was arrived at. The duke demanded that Hamburg should recognize him as her sovereign, pure and simple, and of course was flatly refused. The duke appealed to the Imperial Court of Appeals. In time a decree came that the princes were not justified in claiming the homage of Hamburg, and at the same time Hamburg was commanded not to recognize the King of Denmark as overlord.

King Frederick II. was more antagonistic than ever after this verdict. In December 1564 he peremptorily demanded

from the city a sum of thirty thousand thalers, and warned her that until it was paid no citizen must show himself on any of his waters or lands save at the risk of life. The city sent representatives in January to Copenhagen, but they came away without accomplishing anything. The king had refused to see them. They were told, however, that ten Danish ports should be opened to Hamburg if she paid the king one hundred thousand thalers.

The Dukes of Holstein meantime appealed again to the Imperial Courts, claiming that Hamburg was built on a part of the ancient county of Stormarn, that the dukes of Holstein had always been counts of Stormarn, that they had never given or sold their rights over any part of that county, and they claimed that the city now and always had belonged to them.

In 1573 the king again seized thirty Hamburg ships in the Sound. He steadily refused to see any representatives of the city or to have any communication with them. It was not until 1580 that, through the intervention of the Elector of Saxony, Hamburg recovered her



HAMBURG MERCHANT SHIP

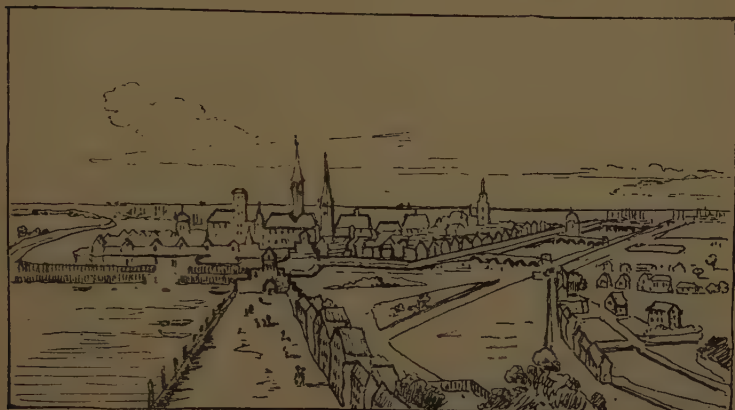
ships on the payment of fifteen thousand thalers. The question of sovereignty continued. The king and dukes abated nothing in their demands. The city was just as obstinate. In April 1588 King Frederick II. died and was succeeded by his eleven years' old son Christian IV.

For eight years Denmark was governed by a regency with which the city got on much better than with the late king. In 1590 the queen dowager spent two pleasant days in Hamburg, where she was very well received. In 1596 the young king was crowned. He promptly renewed the demand upon Hamburg, and pressed his claims which had been linger-

ing so long in the high courts of the empire. He also threatened to enforce his claims. The emperor issued mandates to both king and duke, ordering them on no account to force the city to do homage until the courts had decided, and this induced those princes to enter into negotiations which ended in their consent to receive the city's recognition as protector, as their immediate predecessors had done. There were some of the people who wished to refuse this and proclaim that Hamburg was a free city of the empire, owing no sort of allegiance to Holstein or Stormarn. Prudent counsel, however, prevailed. Hamburg had not yet been recognized as a free city, and the protection of the king and duke might be more useful now when the empire was so weak and the Hanseatic League, which had formerly been powerful enough to protect the cities, was now feeble. So the two parties agreed, and the king and duke came in great state, probably the last of these picturesque mediæval visits. The King and Queen of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp were accompanied by their counsellors and by many great personages, among whom were a wild and picturesque embassy from Moscow, the Electress Hedwig of Saxony, the Duke-Archbishop of Bremen, the Duchess of Brunswick-Celle with her four sons, two dukes of Mecklenburg, two dukes of Sonderburg, the Count of East Frisia with his wife, the Count of Schwarzburg, and many noble gentlemen and ladies, with a guard of five hundred cavalry, entered the city gates. The streets were lined with the hired troops of the city. Flags waved everywhere, all the church bells pealed, and the heavy guns on the walls thundered a welcome. On the next day all the great personages, dressed in crimson velvet, went to a service in the cathedral, where Magister Johann Schellhammer preached a sermon of welcome, after which the visitors proceeded to the Rathhaus, where they received the formal address and the representatives of the city kissed hands and recognized the king as protector. All the freedoms and privileges were confirmed.

The Hansa was fast dwindling into insignificance. Lübeck herself had dealt it a death-blow when she abandoned Wullenweber, but the *raison d'être* for Hansas no longer existed. The League was the middleman of Northern Europe. It was the common carrier and the commission merchant. When the separate countries began to do their own carrying and to trade directly with each other the business of the Hansa was gone. By reducing prices and pretensions and employing good

manners part of this business might have been retained, but Lübeck's plan was to bully and browbeat and insist upon using worn-out systems and ancient formulas, and compelling others to do what Lübeck ordered, although she no longer had any power to enforce her demands. Queen Elizabeth was not a good sort of sovereign to try to bully. She promptly encour-



HAMBURG, 1587, FROM THE TOWER OF THE OUTER DAMMTOR, NOW THE
GOOSEMARKET

aged in every way she could the enterprise and spirit of adventure of her people. She made a treaty of commerce with the Muscovites which wiped out at one stroke the greater part of the Baltic trade of the League, and she removed, so far as was in her power, everything which prevented her subjects from sharing on equal terms in the trade of the world. By submitting to the inevitable Hamburg prospered amid the ruins of the League.

In 1599 the King of Denmark and Norway, Christian IV., and his brother visited his faithful city of Bergen, one of the strongholds of the Hanseatic League. The memory of his visit still clings to the place. His ideas of fun and of the right way to live seem to have much in common with those of a certain titled, semi-barbarous set of fashionable or "smart" English people to-day. Practical jokes, horseplay, total disregard of the feelings of others were the characteristics of their conduct. They were, however, thoughtless, not cruel. Unlike the society which Lord Rossmore describes as existing in the twentieth

century, the king had plenty of brains, and though doubtless he was a heavy drinker, like all of his contemporaries, he was able to do great things.

During the visit to Bergen, at a banquet given by the governor, the king and his brother grew so merry that they broke every pane of glass in the house. At another banquet an apprentice was tied in a bag and hung in the chimney. Then a crowd, dressed comically as old men and women, came in with bags full of rubbish, odds and ends of hair and leather, and piling them in the hearth set them on fire, and the king was so much amused by the struggles of the apprentice in the chimney when the stinking smoke enveloped him that he called for an encore, and as the apprentice was *hors de combat* substituted one of his own servants. The unfortunate victim was forced to sing amidst the smoke until he succumbed.

Another pleasant diversion was when a young man was stripped and thrown into the water just below the castle windows. Thrice was he ducked, and then, lying in the water, held up by the shoulders and the heels, he was well whipped, much to the amusement of all—with the probable exception of the young man. In this and similar ways did the great amuse themselves in the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER XII

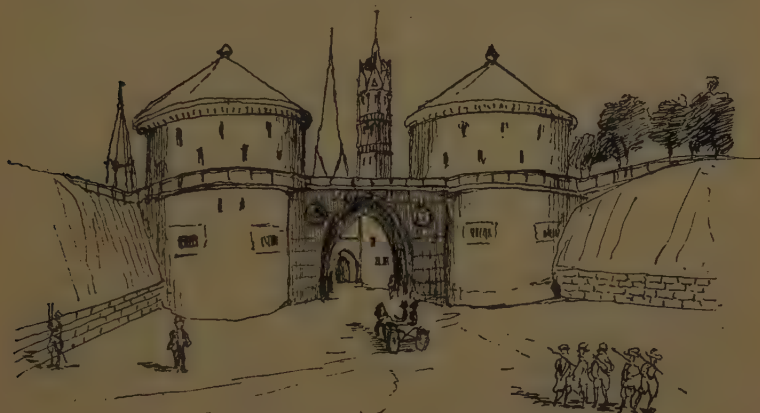
CHRISTIAN IV. AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

THOUGH Christian IV. had been recognized as protector, he did not forgive the city for refusing to do him homage as overlord. He was also inimical to all the German cities because they still held a good part of the trade which he thought should belong to his own subjects, especially in the Baltic. When he declared war with Sweden he ordered Hamburg and Lübeck to cease trading with Sweden, and when they refused he sent out a fleet which seized and confiscated all Hanseatic vessels they could find. In 1612 they took twenty large ships belonging to Hamburg or Lübeck. The Danish fleet scoured the Baltic, and finally blockaded all the German ports on that sea.

October 6, 1612, a fleet of twenty Lübeck ships lay at anchor at Travemünde ready to sail. Most of the officers and crew were on shore. Suddenly a fleet of twenty-five Danish men-of-

war sailed in among them and began firing. Those on board the Lübeck ships cut loose from their moorings, and the ships drifted ashore in a place where they were protected by the guns of a fortress. The Danish admiral remained out of gunshot, but where he could, and did, prevent all ships from entering or leaving.

Hamburg suffered, only less than Lübeck, and there was joy



STEINTHOR, HAMBURG, IN 1600

in both cities when, through the mediation of James I, peace was made between Sweden and Denmark; but Christian IV. continued to oppose the German cities in many ways. The threatening condition of affairs in Germany was also bad for trade. The struggle between the religions was again becoming very serious, and every one was preparing for war. In 1615 Hamburg began a new system of fortifications which took ten years to complete. Hamburg was heavily taxed to pay for these very extensive works, but her citizens did not confine themselves to these fortifications. In 1604 a public orphan asylum was established, and a pest house, or hospital for infectious diseases for all persons too poor to pay for being taken care of when suffering from contagious diseases, was established in 1606. In 1612 a public school for poor boys and girls was founded, and in 1616 a combined workhouse, reformatory and infirmary was built and occupied. This latter was largely supported by a public lottery under the protection of the city. In spite of the heavy taxes and the large expenditures on public and philan-

thropic works, life had become more luxurious, and the customs of the people of all classes more extravagant. This annoyed the paternal government, and the result was a series of laws restricting the expenditure of individuals and regulating the costumes of citizens. Women were by law prohibited from attending funerals because they vied with each other in expensive clothing when at such public processions. For the same reason weddings were no longer to be held in churches, but privately at home. The giving of wine to funeral guests was forbidden, and the wearing of long cloaks, except by near and specified relations, and even those must not wear trains. The number of bearers, carriages, torches, etc., was limited. Wreaths were permitted, but not ribbons and favours. Torchlight funerals were fashionable affairs and were strictly regulated by civic ordinances, even the price to be paid for every torch. Weddings were also very strictly looked after, and rules as to the ordinary clothing of the citizens were promulgated, all with the view of reducing living expenses, because it was necessary to increase the taxes on account of the threatening times. Indeed, the Thirty Years' War had already begun in South Germany, but Hamburg was trying to be prepared for the time when it should spread over the whole empire.

In 1620 the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg suddenly, without warning, took possession of the Vierlanden, which belonged to Hamburg and Lübeck. This looked like the beginning of war, but when the city troops marched into the invaded territory the brave duke robbed the custom house, pierced the dykes which kept the water out, and withdrew his troops.

Meanwhile, Hamburg was busy building her new defences, which were completed in 1625. Hamburg had been definitively proclaimed as a free imperial city by the emperor in 1610, but the King of Denmark still claimed sovereignty, and in 1620 issued his commands that she should not trade with Iceland. He also claimed the tonnage tax which was levied on ships passing up and down the Elbe. This had been the property of Hamburg, but was now claimed by the king as duke of Holstein. When the city's ambassadors asked for an explanation they were told that in the threatening state of affairs the king wished to keep all of the sulphur, which was Iceland's chief article of export, in his own hands. As to the river tax, he had hitherto allowed Hamburg to collect it, but now preferred to have it himself. He also stationed two Danish men-of-war in the river a few miles from the city. The courts, when appealed to, gave in

favour of the city, but the king stated that he was not in any way interfering with the river traffic, but, on the contrary, was simply defending it from the attempt which Hamburg was making to monopolize it. Hamburg sent a deputation to Copenhagen, which was well received, and an understanding was come to which practically recognized Hamburg's claims.

Christian IV., as Duke of Holstein, was a German prince, and he was chosen to be generalissimo of the North German Protestants. Ferdinand II., King of Bohemia, had been chosen emperor. Bohemia had then declared her throne to be vacant, and had chosen the Pfalzgrave, Frederick V. (James I.'s son-in-law) to fill it. All the Catholic Powers were united against him. Spain and the pope joined with Bavaria and Austria, but the Protestant princes quarrelled among themselves, and, instead of uniting to help the Bohemians, they wrangled about Luther and Calvin, and the so-called Winter King was defeated at the battle of Prague, where he was opposed by the Roman-Spanish-Austrian-Bavarian hosts. Even Protestant Saxony disapproved of his form of Protestantism, and declared against him; and his father-in-law, the egregious James I., was kept neutral by the hopes which were held out to him that his son should marry a Spanish princess. The Pfalzgrave lost everything. His own duchy of the Palatine was annexed by Bavaria.

The emperor at once killed all the Protestants he could find, confiscated the property of those who escaped—more than thirty thousand families emigrated—and deposed, with loss of their lands, the Pfalzgrave, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Anhalt. These acts warned the Protestant princes and put them on their guard.

Count Ernst von Mansfeld began the war. With a small body of troops, which soon swelled to twenty thousand, he invaded Alsace. His troops "lived on the country," which means ruin to the inhabitants. He met Tilly, who was sent to punish him, and beat him badly at Wieslock.

Duke Christian of Brunswick also raised an army and overran North-west Germany. Tilly won two victories, but the Protestants still kept up the fight, but were badly beaten by Tilly at Loo. Their cause seemed lost, but the emperor again came to their aid by deposing all Protestant princes, and acting so severely to all Protestants that he again united the Protestants and compelled them to rise against him. It was this union of German Protestants which chose Christian IV., King of Denmark and Duke of Holstein, as their leader in 1625.

Unfortunate Germany was now covered with hostile armies living on the country. The Catholic League, with its troops under Tilly. The emperor with his own army commanded by Count Albrecht Wallenstein, and supported by pillage and plunder. Christian IV., who was soon at the head of the Protestant armies, supported them in the same way. The poor people suffered as few peoples have suffered. The ruthless ferocity and cruelty of the soldiers has rarely, if ever, been equalled. A contemporary writer, Grimmelshausen, in his famous novel of *Simplicissimus*, has given the most terrible and vivid pictures of the horrors of those times.

There was, of course, a Hamburg contingent with the Protestant armies. Wallenstein defeated Mansfeld at Dessau in May 1626, and Tilly routed the army of Christian IV. in August of the same year. All Germany was at the mercy of these men who had no mercy. The king fled to Denmark. Hamburg closed her gates and rejoiced in her new defences. Over and over again wandering bands of more or less licensed marauders tried to force their way into the city, beleaguering it for a few days, wasted the country around it, and swept the land as clean as if they had been locusts or travelling ants. Many people managed to escape with their lives into the city, which was full to overflowing, with all business at an end. Famine and pestilence were within the walls for more than three years. The hospitals were overcrowded. Many, suffering from weakness or hunger only, fell in the streets and died there because people feared to touch them, dreading the plague. Those who were brave and willing to help had their houses and their hands full. The great, empty warehouses were crammed with fugitives.

The governor of Halberstadt captured Ritzebüttel and occupied the country round about, from which Hamburg drew a large amount of food. The city called upon Bremen, Lübeck and Denmark for aid, but, without waiting, marched a thousand men to Ritzebüttel, and drove the infamous Halberstadter out of the country—as the chronicler says, “like a half-drowned poodle.” Meantime, a stream of wealthy landowners, with all of their portable property, flowed into the city. Houses were not to be had, and they lived in tents or in churches. The imperial troops overran Holstein and almost entirely cut off the food supply, and the King of Denmark, with his men-of-war, completely blockaded the mouth of the Elbe to prevent aid coming to the imperialists from Spain or France, but also

stopping all hope of provisions coming to the city in that way. Tilly captured Stade in April 1628, and Buxtehude soon after. Wallenstein had overrun Mecklenburg and been made duke of that country by the emperor, who had deposed the real duke for Protestantism. Stralsund was besieged, in vain, by Wallenstein, who had a hundred thousand men under him, and living, as far as they could, upon the country. Hamburg, already suffering from hunger, was threatened on one side by Tilly, on the other by Wallenstein. Both generals came and saw. They did not like the looks of the strong modern fortifications, and turned away. Glückstadt and Rostock were taken. Yet the city must have starved if so many of its inhabitants had not died.

An imperial edict restored the old religion everywhere, reinstated the old clergy and gave, as special grace, the right to emigrate to all Protestant subjects who were not willing to return to the fold. All Protestant princes were deposed. In order to be at liberty to do his will in Germany unhindered, the emperor made peace with Denmark, giving him back Holstein on condition that he should no longer take part in German affairs, and that he should recognize Wallenstein as duke of Mecklenburg. By this peace Holstein was freed from invaders, and Hamburg was a little easier, food, to some extent, coming in from that country, though there was little enough left there. Many of the temporary inhabitants of the city had come from Holstein, and now returned to their homes, and a *Te Deum* was sung in St. Nicholas's Church, and all the guns were fired for joy.

Almost immediately Hamburg and Denmark began to wrangle again about the Elbe tolls. The river was full of Danish ships, and the city sent out troops which captured some of them and drove the others out of the river. Christian sent out a fleet of men-of-war, said to have been forty in all. Hamburg had thirty ships to meet them. They fought for several hours at the mouth of the Elbe. Neither side won, but the Hamburg ships were unable to force the Danes to retire, and were themselves compelled to withdraw. The next day and the next the battle was renewed, and the Hamburg fleet was finally compelled to retreat in a terribly damaged condition. With no further actual fighting, the quarrel continued. Hamburg appealed to the emperor, and had a decision in her favour. A proclamation to this effect was posted in public places throughout Holstein, but the king denied the imperial jurisdiction, and continued to collect the

river toll and to refuse to pay Hamburg. He said no one had any right to interfere between him and his Hamburg subjects. He then undertook to raise recruits in the city, but the senate sent the recruiting officers about their business. This enraged the king, who suddenly, September 1640, closed the river and surrounded the city, believing she must surrender at once or starve; but she was better provisioned than he thought, and rested patiently until January, when the severe frosts compelled the king to withdraw his troops. In 1643 he again besieged the city, publicly announcing to neighbouring powers that he was about to punish his rebellious subjects in his city of Hamburg. Hamburg sent her syndic, Dr. Pauli, as ambassador to treat with the king, who not only gave him harsh answers, but threw him into prison and kept him as hostage.

In the summer of 1643 Hamburg made rather a shameful surrender, agreeing to pay a fine of 300,000 thalers and remain devoted to the king, whatever that meant. The king, on his part, agreed to raise the siege and receive the city again into his favour. At the signing of this treaty the city once more held thanksgiving services and fired a *feu de joie* from the walls. The struggle with Denmark had been bitter, but it had saved them from the horrors which Tilly and Wallenstein were spreading broadcast over the rest of Germany. The vicinity of Hamburg was protected still by the treaty which the emperor had made with the king.

Germany was again completely lawless. The strongest ruled, the weaker went to the wall. The roads were again as unsafe as they had been two hundred years before, only, as Dr. Nehlsen says, the highwaymen now were common soldiers and ordinary thieves instead of knights and barons.

One side was as bad as the other. The Swedes did as much damage as the Austrians. Two thousand Swedish soldiers invaded the Vierlanden and had to be forcibly driven out. It was Swedish soldiers in 1636 who waylaid Hamburg merchants returning from the fair at Leipzig and robbed them of thirty-four wagons and thirty-thousand thalers' worth of goods. It was Swedes who captured Leipzig in 1642 and held all the foreign merchants, who were attending the fair, to ransom. The peasants being driven from the fields, took to plundering for a living. In 1644 four thousand peasants encamped near Hamburg, and from their headquarters conducted systematic warfare on all and sundry. They plundered Swedes, Austrians and the general public. They frequently tried to force their

way into Hamburg, but never succeeded. Whenever any of them were caught they were hung.

In Hamburg there were plenty of men and women just as bad as the worst outside. We are told that almost every day some house was set on fire by people who hoped to steal from the burning house or from the crowd which came to see the fire. On one occasion when the church of St. Nicholas was crowded, some of these people raised a panic by shouting fire, and, rushing among the crowd, stole from them chains, jewels, furs and other articles of value, knocking down men and women and children and taking their valuables by force. That same day—New Year's Day, 1648—the river rose to such a height that very many houses were flooded, and much damage was done. In February of the same year a terrible storm took place, during which the towers of the cathedral and of the church of St. Katherine were blown down, and almost every house in the city was more or less damaged. There was pestilence and famine in the city then, too, and the people had reached the limit of their endurance when the great Treaty of Münster was executed and signed at Osnabrück and Münster, October 24, 1648. Hamburg celebrated the peace by a great thanksgiving festival, October 29.

The energy of the city was soon awake. The people began to repair their damaged buildings. The new church of St. Michael and All Angels was begun as a peace monument.

The Treaty of Münster was not formally signed until July, 1650, and then it was at Nuernberg and not in Westphalia. When Germany has peace she prospers, but her periods of peace have not been many or long [now that there has been more than forty years of peace the prosperity of the empire has been astounding], and as soon as the Thirty Years' War was over the whole country began to improve rapidly. In Hamburg new buildings were erected, old fortifications were improved, improvements were begun in all branches of the city government, and the church towers, which had been lying for years in ruins, were rebuilt. A new Rathhaus was built. A new building for the public library was started, and a librarian appointed; several of the bridges were re-erected. Several hundred new houses were built to accommodate the new people who were moving into the city, and the walls were extended so as to include these new dwellings. In 1660 the vast and picturesque Kornhaus was built. It was headquarters of the grain trade, and included storage room for large quantities of wheat. In

1662 the Baumhaus was built and became the most frequented restaurant and social centre for many years. Another important house built about this time was called Das Herrenlogiment, and



HERRENLOGIMENT, HAMBURG

was used for giving large private entertainments, and also for publicly lodging and entertaining visiting princes or other great personages.

CHAPTER XIII

QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN: A PERIOD OF QUARRELS

THE great King Gustavus Adolphus had little or no personal association with Hamburg, but his daughter, Queen Christina of Sweden, had a palace of her own in Hamburg, where her ambassadors lived, and where she stayed occasionally, as she liked the Hamburg life. On July 3, that eccentric lady arrived, unannounced, and dressed in man's clothes. The senate heard of this and sent the usual present the next day. She had taken up her residence in the house of a rich

Portuguese Jew. On the 6th she, and several other great personages, including the Landgrave of Hesse, went to church. There was a long service and a long sermon about the visit of the Queen of Sheba, during which the Queen of Sweden was seen to make many notes. After all this it was announced that a fine concert was to be given in honour of the queen, but she at once rose and went home, leaving her book behind her. It was found to be a copy of Virgil. She rode every day in man's clothes. On the 16th, the Landgrave gave a country feast in her honour, at which she stayed very late. Finding the city gates shut she demanded admittance. The gates were opened for her, but the people were incensed. They had already taken offence at her behaviour, and they said it was an unheard-of thing that the gates should be opened after midnight for any one. The feeling was strong against the queen and the burgomaster who had had the gates opened for her. She left early the next morning, but the ill-feeling remained, and grew, leading to much unseemly wrangling. The popular assembly ordered the treasurer not to pay the salaries of the burgomasters and senators. In 1657 the members of the Buergerschaft refused to attend a public meeting called by the senate, on the ground that they did not care to hear anything the senate had to say. The feeling grew more and more bitter, but ended in 1663, in the complete triumph of the people, to whose elective body was transferred the management of the finances and the election of new members to the senate—which had been a self-elective body.

Christian IV. of Denmark died in February 1648. His son, the Archbishop of Bremen, became King Frederick III. The old story repeated itself. The new king, as Duke of Holstein, demanded the submission and homage of Hamburg, which was refused. There were tedious negotiations, and the king grew very angry, but, owing to financial difficulties, he could not, as he wished, bring Hamburg to reason by force of arms. Then, too, in spite of her poverty, Denmark was forced to declare war against Sweden, which country was already fighting with Poland.

By the Treaty of Münster, Bremen and her territory had been ceded to Sweden, and the Danish army crossed the Elbe and invaded that country; but were driven out by the Swedish king, who then overran Holstein and Schleswig; and Hamburg was once more filled with fugitives. The city had to keep a strong force of troops, and see that her walls were in good condition.

The elector of Brandenburg came to the relief of the Danes, and drove the Swedes and vagabonds out of the country; yet Hamburg trusted no one too much, and, though she sent the elector a handsome gift of wine and beer, she kept her gates closed and her army ready. A number of English Quakers, who came preaching their peace principles, were expelled from the city and forbidden to return on pain of death.

Peace between Denmark and Sweden was made in May 1660, shortly after the death of the king of Sweden and the duke of Holstein-Gottorp. Hamburg had another grand celebration of the peace which meant so much to her, although she was not actually taking a part in the war.

There never was any actual peace in those days. There were constant skirmishes with the Duke of Lüneburg, who not only declined to pay the river-tolls to Hamburg but tried to levy river-tolls himself, and a number of men-of-war had to be continually cruising in the river to protect the shipping. It was also necessary to keep troops in the so-called Saxon forest, to prevent the men of the Duke of Lauenburg from pillaging there. In 1662, eight Hamburg ships, filled with costly goods, were captured by corsairs in the Mediterranean, and two men-of-war were built and employed in convoying fleets of merchantmen trading with Mediterranean ports. With Denmark, relations were far from cordial. The city declined to invite a number of passing royal personages, who were on their way to the wedding of the crown prince in Copenhagen; and, in consequence, those personages fared badly and had to spend the night in a neighbouring village. The Danes accused Hamburg of conspiring with Corsitz Uhlfeldt, a banished pretender to the Danish crown. They especially accused Dr. Otto Sperling, a prominent physician, of being in this plot. A Danish nobleman summoned the doctor to see his wife, who was said to be dangerously ill in a country house, not far from the city, and, when there, he seized him and carried him in irons to Copenhagen, where he was condemned to imprisonment for life. Naturally the senate protested vigorously, but the king claimed that he had a right to do as he saw fit with the citizens of his town of Hamburg. He also began to build the town of Altona in Holstein, close to the Hamburg borders, and to endeavour to make it a commercial rival, and in every possible way to injure Hamburg trade. The city also got into a quarrel with England. That country was at war with Holland, and British and Dutch fleets cruised in the North Sea. In August 1666 twelve laden English ships

were lying in the Elbe awaiting convoy, when two Dutch men-of-war appeared and captured three. The others escaped to the protection of the guns of the city. England held Hamburg responsible and demanded indemnity, claiming that the city collected tolls from vessels using the river and was therefore responsible for their safety. Hamburg's answer was that the river belonged to the empire and not to the city, and that the vessels, when captured, were lying off a Danish port where Hamburg had no jurisdiction. England, however, stuck to her demands with threats of reprisals, and Hamburg was reluctantly compelled to pay four hundred thousand thalers indemnity.

In September 1667 the Queen of Denmark visited Altona. Hamburg sent a deputation to welcome her and

*Schöner Prospect des Kirch-
thurns zu S Catharinen
in Hamburg wie er an den
N^o 1657 d. 3 July.
Weſter ſeiten anzuſehen*



ST. KATHERINES, 1657

present a gift. She refused to receive either deputation or gift. Hamburg's reply to this insult was the building of two new men-of-war, each with fifty-four guns. War was anxiously expected, and the Danes only waited until they were recovered from their losses by the Swedish war.

In 1670 the king died, but before this the Queen of Sweden had been quarrelled with by the citizens. Christina was fond of Hamburg, had her own palace there, and gave frequent gorgeous entertainments in the Herrenlogiment. One is especially mentioned which was given in February 1668. A brilliant ballet, in which the queen herself danced, was called "The Enchanted Palace, or Godfrey of Bouillon and Jerusalem Delivered." All the neighbouring princes and nobles swarmed into the city and were present at this festival. Splendid street parades took place, and wine and beer ran in the fountains.

The queen left Hamburg in April, but returned in May. She had become a Roman Catholic, and she brought with her a retinue of monks and priests which disgusted the bigoted Hamburgers, who resented the change of faith of this daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, the great Protestant hero.

The queen was ill-advised enough to give another entertainment, in her own palace, in honour of the pope, Clement IX. She again had the fountain in front of the palace flowing with wine, and one result was that many of the populace became "fighting-drunk." Sixty great wax torches, in gilded holders, adorned the façade of the palace, whilst above, on the gable, was a transparency with the papal arms and the inscription "Clemens IX. Pontifex Maximus vivat." As soon as this was lighted up and the crowd saw it the trouble began. The house was attacked by an infuriated, drunken mob. All the windows were broken, the front door was battered down, and the mob poured into the house. The queen and her court escaped by a back way. The servants and guards, armed with muskets and pistols, drove out the mob. Many were wounded and three were killed. The people were wild with rage, but a force of fifty soldiers charged them from behind and drove them away. The people after this were hard to pacify, but the queen bore no ill-will, and spent much time in the city and gave many great entertainments, but never again showed such want of tact.

It is difficult for us in these peaceful times to put ourselves in the places of the people of those times. Even when at peace with every one, Hamburg constantly dreaded an attack by Danes, Swedes, neighbouring princes or wandering brigands.

Every man in the city was bound, when the trumpet sounded, to seize his musket and hurry to his captain's house, ready to fight.

The King of Denmark died in February 1670. His son, Christian V., demanded the oath of fealty, as his predecessors had done. Hamburg refused, as usual, but suddenly the emperor interfered, forbidding Hamburg to recognize in any way the overlordship of the king, and forbidding the king, as duke of Holstein, to make any demands upon Hamburg, until the suit before the high court had been decided, on pain of losing the dukedom. The king protested that the emperor had no right to interfere, but the city took advantage of the prohibition to delay bringing the dispute to a conclusion.

The king objected to this, and the queen, on her way to her daughter's marriage in Germany, passed Hamburg without taking notice.

The city again doubled her small standing army, which was now twenty-five hundred strong in addition to all the able-bodied men in the city, every one of whom was compelled to drill regularly.

Christian V. was crowned in June 1671, and early in 1672 he made a peremptory demand that Hamburg should acknowledge his sovereignty as Duke of Holstein and Stormarn. Hamburg refused to disobey the emperor's orders, and the king became very cross. Like his predecessors, he had demanded that the city should recognize him as absolute master, and, like them, he had expected the city to refuse, but accept him as protector. The city declined to do this. The king proposed to build a fort on a sandbank in the Elbe. The city sent ambassadors to protest, and the king threw them into dungeons for a month. Then he mobilized fifteen thousand men in Holstein, and Hamburg had to live with closed gates and open eyes. The times were dangerous, especially as there were disturbances and dissatisfaction in the city. The shoemakers quarrelled with their apprentices. A battle took place in which several were killed, and then the matter was settled by arbitration, but similar struggles in other trades lingered and were not so promptly settled, and the state of feeling between the citizens in general and the senate was tense. So much so, that the emperor sent Count Windischgrätz to try and act as mediator. Every one who had a grievance aired it before the count, who received every one sympathetically, and all were pleased with him, and every one thought he was on his side. He was, however, entirely on the side of the senate, and presented a document with

seventy-one clauses forming a settlement of as many questions in dispute. When the opposition ventured to question and discuss these, he expressed surprise, said this was the emperor's decision, and any one opposing would be regarded as an enemy of his majesty. Many objected, but no one had the courage, after this, to be the first to say so, and consequently the articles were all passed, and Windischgrätz went back to the emperor, having made peace. It was rather like rendering a volcano harmless by dumping earth into the crater. The danger was just as great, but you could not see it.

In December 1673, the first public street lamps were lighted, and shortly before that the first street in the city was paved. By way of contrast to these modern improvements were the drastic laws made by the senate for the purpose of stemming the tide of luxurious living which was again very noticeably on the increase in the city.

The use of lace and precious stones was entirely prohibited, as was that of cloths of gold and silver. Women of the highest class were forbidden to wear silk cloaks, or sables. They might wear gold chains, but no jewels. These were the wives or daughters of senators, graduates of universities, and merchants. The second-class women—wives or daughters of shopkeepers, clerks, book-keepers, employees of the city, master workmen, brewers, ships' officers, etc.—were forbidden to wear clothes made of silk, satin or velvet, or stockings of silk. These expensive stuffs might be used for trimming, but the width of the trimming was limited by law. Women of the third class, such as nurses, servantmaids, and the wives and daughters of labourers, servants, day workmen, etc., were forbidden to use silk in any form, with penalty of fine and confiscation. One curious clause prohibits the use of silk, tafeta or brocade for covering umbrellas. It is said that, although these laws were published, were hung up at street corners, and were preached about by every pastor in the city, the women of the different classes met together and, as a result, refused to obey the new laws, and that the men did not dare order a single arrest. More important than these ineffective laws about clothes, was the foundation of a permanent opera in Hamburg in 1677. The new opera-house was built in the Gänsemarkt, and opened in 1678, with a musical drama called *Adam and Eve, or Created, Fallen and Resurrected Mankind*. A writer, who was present at the first performance, says: "The theatre and the machinery were beautiful." This enterprise was ably managed by Senator

Gerhard Schott, and it has continued to prosper, and has for years been among the leading institutions of the sort in Germany.

In 1673, Denmark again began hiring troops and massing them in Holstein, and Hamburg, after her brief period of peace, was compelled again to enlist mercenaries, again to drill her able-bodied citizens, and again to keep her walls completely manned and her gates guarded. In May 1674, heavy guns were placed on the walls ready for use. The King of Denmark announced that his troops were to be used in fighting France, and he formally announced his alliance with the Elector of Brandenburg. Sweden allied herself with France. Louis XIV. was officially denounced at Ratisbon as an enemy of the empire. Hamburg was at peace with Sweden and France, and tried to remain so, nevertheless the emperor ordered the city to dismiss the French and Swedish ministers. This she refused to do. Then the Spanish and Brandenburg representatives threatened war against the city if the French minister was not dismissed. On April 27, 1675, the emperor ordered the city to dismiss the French resident within twenty-four hours, or be regarded as an enemy of the empire. A public meeting was held, at which it was decided to send a deputation to the emperor to explain that if the city dismissed the French representative she would lose more than half the trade upon which her existence depended, and that, therefore, she begged to be allowed to remain neutral in the quarrel between France and Sweden on the one part, and Denmark, Brandenburg and Holland on the other part—a quarrel in which Hamburg had no share.

All that the deputation gained was a brief delay, and August 15, 1675, the city decided to abandon her neutrality, and the French representative was dismissed. The King of France thereupon declared war upon Hamburg, and ordered all Hamburg ships and goods in France to be confiscated. With Sweden it was the same, and as a large part of her trade was with those countries her people began at once to suffer, and poverty and famine threatened every one. Denmark gathered an army at Rendsburg and the senate believed that the king meant the city no good, so another thousand troops were hired, and the city was as well prepared for a siege as circumstances allowed. After the middle of July, when King Christian V. captured Duke Christian at Rendsburg, thousands of Holsteiners took refuge in Hamburg, and many wandering, homeless tramps were camped outside the walls.

The troubles of the Thirty Years' War were being repeated. French privateers made the North Sea unsafe, and some even ventured up the Elbe and captured a Hamburg fully laden ship. The Danes had taken forcible possession of the Vierlanden—territory belonging to the city, and from which she drew a considerable portion of her food.

In January 1676, an ambassador from the emperor arrived with orders to confiscate all Swedish ships and goods. The senate objected, but the sailors and wharfmens rose, nine hundred strong, and waited on the ambassador to explain their views. They were armed with pikes and clubs, but did no harm and declared their intentions to be peaceable. The ambassador, however, fled, and the emperor scolded the senate sharply, and ordered them to abandon, at once, all trade with France and Sweden, and to confiscate all goods belonging to either Frenchmen or Swedes. This the senate still refused to do.

Times were very hard, and many men were accused of using corrupt and fraudulent means of making money. Such charges were brought against the syndic Garmers. He managed to conceal himself, but the mob surrounded his house, destroyed the windows and began to demolish the building. The senate dispersed the people and saved the house, but offered a reward for the syndic; he, however, managed to escape to Harburg, where he lived and died in poverty. There was much ill-feeling and mistrust between the citizens, and frequent riots.

January 2, 1678, several officials seized the carriage of the Spanish ambassador as it was entering the town, filled with goods which were being smuggled into the city. The ambassador protested vigorously, and, although it was evident that he or some of his people were engaged in smuggling, the senate arrested the officials who had been guilty. Nevertheless, the ambassador, who had been in Brussels, arrived in Hamburg on April 12, and demanded the payment of 100,000 thalers, the cashiering of the officers of the gate-watch, and the hanging of those men who had actually laid hands on the sacred carriage, and announced that the king had seized all Hamburg goods and all citizens of Hamburg then in Spain, until the demands of the ambassador had been complied with. As the whole trouble was supposed to have resulted from a partnership between a Jewish merchant and the ambassador for the purpose of smuggling, and the Jew had been found with the goods in the carriage, the senate now summoned the leading Jewish citizens, and asked them to interfere and calm the diplomatist and get

him to moderate his demands. The Jews were told that they knew there was much ill-feeling toward them among the citizens, because they alone had seemed to prosper in these hard times, and if this Spanish affair were not stopped the senate might find it impossible to protect them. There was really a strong feeling against the Jews, but, fortunately, news arrived on May 13, that, owing to the explanation of the affair offered by the city, and owing to the intermediation of the emperor, the King of Spain had released the imprisoned merchants and their goods, and was satisfied with an apology, a decision very unpalatable to the Spanish ambassador, but which was comforting to the Jews.

No sooner was the Spanish danger past than a new trouble fell upon the city. Several merchants of Hamburg, returning from the Leipzig fair with valuable goods, were seized by order of the Elector of Brandenburg, and held for a ransom of 50,000 thalers. In September, the elector demanded 150,000 thalers due, he said, because he had been promised winter quarters for his troops in the Vierlanden, and had not had them. In order to enforce his demands he issued letters of marque to privateers who preyed on Hamburg ships. In spite of these and the French and Danish ships at the mouth of the river, the city, by means of her warships, managed to keep the river open, and a certain amount of trade was carried on by means of convoyed fleets of merchantmen. A notable sea fight resulted from this state of affairs. A fleet of whalers and sealers, twenty-five in number, and all heavily laden, was convoyed back from Greenland waters by the man-of-war *Arms of Hamburg*, commanded by Captain Karpfanger. At the mouth of the Elbe five French ships attacked the fleet. Karpfanger fought the five of them, sunk two and let the other three escape disabled, as he could not abandon his fleet of merchantmen until they were safe at Hamburg. He did not lose a ship, but the next year, 1679, the convoy was not so lucky as to have Karpfanger, and two ships from Greenland, heavily laden, were taken by Brandenburgers.

In September 1679, peace was made between France and Sweden on the one hand, and Denmark and Brandenburg on the other. Denmark at once recalled her armies to Holstein, and Hamburg again hired troops and strengthened her defences, expecting to be attacked. The king's army of 17,000 veterans came close to the city with twenty-six siege mortars, twenty-eight heavy cannons and a numerous field artillery. Christian V.

was with his troops, and the city was besieged on that side completely. The king then demanded three things: First, that the city should swear allegiance and fealty to him, as duke of Holstein, their rightful lord. Second, an ample and official apology for numerous insults in the past. Thirdly, security for good behaviour in the future.

The senate, together with sixty citizens, twelve from each of the five parishes, met on September 30 to discuss what answer should be sent to the king. Meanwhile, consternation reigned in the neighbouring towns. The people were indignant at the action of Denmark. Lüneburg at once sent a regiment-and-a-half of soldiers to Hamburg, and Hanover, Wolfenbüttel and Osnabrück promised speedy aid. Even Brandenburg and England promised assistance. October 8, Denmark sent a fleet to close the river. Everything was ready for war, but negotiations were still in progress, and lingered, chiefly because the Duke of Brunswick and the King of France were trying to mediate. The position remained unchanged until November 1, when the king received 220,000 thalers from Hamburg to abandon the siege, and the same day withdrew with his army.

Time had also reduced Brandenburg's claims upon the city, and the elector gave back the ships which he had captured, and declared himself wholly satisfied upon payment of 120,000 thalers by the city.

In celebration of these two arrangements, by which war, which had been so imminent, was averted, the city gave a great banquet at the Eimbeck house on November 4, and a solemn day of thanksgiving was held on the 9th of the same month.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CITY IS BESIEGED BY DENMARK

SCARCELY was the city free from danger from without when the internal disputes became more acrimonious than ever. The people of the lower classes found two able leaders—Cordt Jastram, a tailor, and Hieronymus Schnittger, a shopkeeper. These men exercised extraordinary influence over their neighbours, and, being spiteful and ambitious, they began their reforms by accusations of corruption or malversation against most of the senators and burgomasters. Six or eight were



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removed from office, and the bitterest feelings existed between these men and their friends and the populace, with their two leaders who had filled the senate and offices with their own adherents. The state of things was so bad that the emperor appointed the Duke of Lüneburg to interfere and settle the quarrel; but the party in power in the city refused to receive him. This enraged the duke, who suspended all intercourse between his country and the city. Meantime, Jastram and Schnittger had become the real rulers, and a reign of terror was the result. They accused the burgomaster, Meurer, of wrongdoing and removed him from office, without specifying any charges or bringing any proofs. They suspended, arrested, deposed and confiscated what and as they pleased.

Naturally many enemies were made in this way, and among them a number of dismissed officers formed a plot. On March 12, 1685, when Hieronymus Schnittger was driving to his villa outside the walls he was attacked, and he and his wife were carried off by a number of horsemen, led by a cavalry captain, von Gahlen. A servant escaped to the town and gave the alarm, and troops were sent in pursuit. The kidnappers were overtaken in Artelenburg, and Schnittger and his wife, with their captors, were brought back to the city. Schnittger's return was a triumphal march.

The kidnappers were tortured. Three of them were beheaded on April 13, and buried as criminals in St. Jürgen Churchyard. Six others were beheaded in July. An exception was made of Cornet Lange, who, because he had used insulting language to Schnittger, had his head stuck on a pole and his body buried beneath the gallows. Many persons were arrested and imprisoned because they were friends or relations of the kidnappers, and no one in the city dared criticize anything which the two dictators did.

Meanwhile, the quarrel with the Duke of Lüneburg continued, all intercourse between that duchy and Hamburg was stopped, much to every one's inconvenience. The Elector of Brandenburg urged both parties to appeal to the emperor; they agreed, and Hamburg sent Senator Dr. Schaffshausen and Licentiate Möller to Vienna, where they were told that they could not be received until they paid 300,000 guildens fine for refusing to receive the duke. The Lüneburg ambassador also presented what purported to be a report of Dr. Schaffshausen to the senate, containing slanderous statements concerning Vienna and the people there. Dr. Schaffshausen declared the

paper to be a forgery. He had not written it, and he denounced the Lüneburg ambassador as a forger. Copies of the paper were sent to Hamburg, where the senate ordered them to be burned by the public executioner, and appealed to the emperor to punish the Lüneburger representative for making public such documents, and urging that he alone must be the author. The Lüneburg ambassador became very angry, especially that the copy of his document had been burned by the hangman. To avenge himself, on March 29, 1685, he with five servants fell upon Dr. Schaffshausen as he was taking the air in the Tandelmarkt. The servants stopped his horses, cut their traces and then aided their master, Baron von Marenholz, in attacking the gentleman from Hamburg. The baron beat and poked him until he escaped from his carriage and took refuge among the people who had crowded around. The Hamburg ambassador complained bitterly of this outrage and demanded the punishment of the Lüneburger. The latter excused himself in many ways, but his conduct was regarded unfavourably at court, and he was ordered to leave and not come back until he had given satisfaction to the emperor and the city of Hamburg. The duke, after trying in vain to secure the return to Vienna of his ambassador, took his own revenge by marching an army of three thousand men to take possession of the Vierlanden. Hamburg was only able to send about a thousand men to oppose them, and of these several hundred were commanded by two former Lüneburg officers. A severe battle took place, which, after heavy losses on both sides, resulted in victory for the Lüneburgers because the small Hamburg force of four hundred men was all killed or wounded. The Hamburg troops, six hundred strong, with Lüneburg officers, were kept out of the fight and marched home to Hamburg. The two officers were tried, condemned and shot.

About this time Christian of Denmark began once more to threaten Hamburg, whereupon the Duke of Lüneburg hastily patched up a peace with the city, and evacuated the Vierlanden. When the Danes arrived, expecting to find the city an easy prey (owing to internal dissension and the war with the duke, as well as to a secret understanding which the king had with the dictators, who had proposed giving the oath of allegiance in return for certain aid and new privileges), they were disappointed. The citizens had suddenly discovered what the policy of the dictators meant. A despatch was sent off refusing the king's offer, and when, on August 20, he arrived before the

city with eighteen thousand men, and with a strong fleet in the river, they found the gates closed and the walls manned. Fighting began the next day. Citizen soldiers made a sortie and captured thirty-two Danes. Several skirmishes took place. The Duke of Lüneburg sent twelve hundred of his dragoons, who had been invading the Vierlanden as enemies, to the assistance of the city, and sixty Lüneburg officers came as volunteers. Later eight hundred more men were sent. On August 22, the bombardment began in earnest. The danger was very great, but the steadfast citizens not only did not yield, but, recognizing that their chief danger was from treachery, and it having been discovered that the Danes had come by the invitation of Jastram and Schnittger, the senate arrested those two men and their chief adherents, and kept them in prison until the end of the siege.

The bombardment continued, and the Danes were occupied in investing the outwork called the Star, and their mines approached very near the walls. During nearly three days and nights the bombardment was continuous, and the Germans were not able to send any aid to the garrison of the Star.

On the afternoon of August 25, the Germans made a sortie in the hope of relieving their friends in the Star. A force of eight hundred infantry and six hundred cavalry marched out. In front of the Star they were met by a murderous fire, and attacked by twelve squadrons of cavalry. The Danes had been informed, by some one in the city, that the sortie was to take place and were ready. It looked as if the Germans would be annihilated. They fired a volley and tried to retreat. But, their uniforms were much alike; the Hamburgers were surrounded and had to fight hand to hand, and the combatants were so intermingled that the artillery ceased firing, unable to distinguish friends from foes. While this battle progressed the Lüneburgers, who had not been engaged, attacked the Danes who were working in the mines and investing the Star. After a sharp fight they got into the mines, and killed many Danes, the rest fled. In a short time the whole Danish force was in flight, leaving much booty and many valuable horses. The Germans collected these, destroyed the mines, and returned in triumph to the city with twenty-four prisoners. The Danish loss was seven hundred killed and five hundred wounded. They had five thousand troops in action. The Lüneburgers and Hamburgers had six officers and fifty-three men killed, and two officers and thirty men wounded. The Danes had been driven

from their position, and abandoned their attack on the Star, but continued the bombardment.

On the 26th a reinforcement of one thousand men, sent by Hanover, reached the city. An armistice was agreed to on the 27th and again on the 29th. On the latter day another reinforcement of several regiments of Brandenburgers reached the city. The siege continued with but little fighting until September 6, when the Danes sent word that they were willing to come to terms. September 9, representatives of Hamburg and Brandenburg went to the king. Terms were agreed to on the 10th, and on the 11th Hamburg once more threw open her gates, prisoners were exchanged, and the citizens began to destroy the Danish works. On the 14th the whole Danish army marched away, and Hamburg paid off and discharged her army of three thousand six hundred men, keeping only the usual citizen army ready.

In October the Danes set free the captured Hamburg merchant ships and raised the blockade of the Elbe. By way of bravado the king, while yielding, stated that he demanded that Hamburg should now do homage to him as duke of Holstein, and apologize to him for her behaviour—demands which the city smilingly ignored.

The two ex-dictators were tried and convicted of treason. In fact, they did not deny that they had summoned the Danes and bargained with them. They were both beheaded on October 4.

A grand banquet was given to the stranger officers who had come to the aid of Hamburg. It was in the usual place for such festivals—the Eimbeck house—which continued to be used for such purposes until it was burned in 1842. The deposed burgomaster, Meurer, was reinstated, the Burgomaster Schlüter, who had been placed in office by Schnittger, was arrested on suspicion of complicity in the treason, and died in prison. Other accomplices were banished and their property was confiscated either in part or altogether. The senate was much praised for the mildness of these sentences.

The emperor announced that he had a right to make the city pay 300,000 thalers as a fine for disobeying his commands, but he would forgo it in consequence of the fine fight they had made against the Danes.

CHAPTER XV

TYRANNY OF THE PEOPLE—THE HORBIUS AFFAIR

FOR a short time there was peace, both foreign and domestic, and the wary citizens prepared for war by strengthening the twenty-two bastions and the two outworks, and building an arsenal and a new battleship.

Small internal troubles occurred. Accusations of corruption and fraud were made and investigated, with little result. The brewers' employees struck because one of their number had been beaten by his employer. They started a riot, but the authorities called out the militia and peace was restored.

It was next disturbed by a religious difference. Pastor Horbius of St. Nicholas procured a MS. copy of a translation from the French of a tract called *The Wisdom of the Just*, by Peter Poiret. He had it printed, and on New Year's Eve distributed large numbers among his congregation. It made a sensation. Many persons were much impressed by it, but others objected to it; there was a great deal of discussion which grew angry. Other clergymen denounced it, and accused Horbius of being a fanatic, and he was forbidden to preach. He defended the book, and declared that he was not answerable to the other clergy for his views. Most of the city clergy joined in the fray and denounced the book and the man from their pulpits continuously, and united in demanding that the senate should depose him. The senate prepared a document which stated that the undersigned regretted that he had had the book printed, and thereby given offence to many; that he abandoned the book, and in future would abstain from publishing; that he acknowledged in every particular the teachings of Luther and the confessions of our Church. This paper Horbius signed. This, however, did not satisfy his theological brethren, whose Christianity seemed about the same as that of a pack of wolves toward a wounded brother. They insisted that as he had publicly issued the book and thereby given offence, he must be humiliated by publicly withdrawing it, or else prove its soundness from the Holy Scriptures. They preached bitterly against the fanaticism of Horbius. There was much difference of opinion among the laity. Many families were divided, former friends and neighbours were estranged. The clergy pressed for the excommunication, which was finally agreed to. May 2, the government

declared Horbius to be a delinquent, whose offence was plainly printed for all to read, and with whom no one should hold any communication until he had cleared himself before an ecclesiastical court. One clergyman—Winckler—defended Horbius, and attacked the others. Sermons in those days were serious things—hours in length, and for a long time they contained little but bitter denunciations of those who sided with or against Horbius. Winckler was almost as bitterly denounced as was Horbius.

Street fights frequently took place—not, however, between the clergy—and several times a number of clergymen ostentatiously went away from funerals—even those who were to have officiated—because Pastor Horbius was present. Pastor Lange went so far as to denounce him in an address at a wedding, but the senate suspended *him* from office. Friends of Horbius guarded his house by night and day.

On election, or town meeting, day, September 14, there was serious rioting. All legislation was stopped, as at every meeting of senate or aldermen it was impossible to discuss any subject long before the Horbius question came up, and rancorous quarrelling began. On October 3, Horbius was stoned by a mob in the horse market. He was much upset, and offered his resignation, but his parish refused to accept it. He, however, withdrew from the city and sought rest and quiet on a friend's farm in Holstein. His parish, however, kept up the fight: the vestry said their rights had been interfered with; that the other parishes were trying to rule them, and they protested. Winckler continued to denounce the other clergy, and Meyer continued to denounce Winckler. The people of the parishes of St. Nicholas and St. Michael hated the people of St. Peter and St. James and the other chapels and parishes, and all denounced the government which had tried to sit on two stools at once. The few Calvinists and Quakers who were then in Hamburg took the part of Horbius, and some of them contributed tracts and pamphlets to the fight.

At a public meeting, January 18, 1694, the question came up and a fight took place which lasted for some time. Wigs were torn off, many heads were broken, and the adherents of Horbius were finally driven out. The whole city broke into uproar, and the militia was called out to quell the riots which took place in every street. Apprentices swarmed through the streets, armed with axes, hatchets and hammers, and fought for one side or the other. Shops were quickly closed. The clerical party insisted

that Horbius's wife and family should be banished, and that he should be told not to return. The meeting in the council house lasted until nearly midnight, and closed with a fight with chairs, benches and jugs as weapons.

The next day the streets were crowded with men and women armed with guns, pikes, axes, or any other available weapons, but the militia succeeded in keeping order that day and the next. The Horbites marched in great force, on the 20th, to the Rathhaus and demanded the return of their pastor. The other side stormed the place and demanded the banishment of Mrs. Horbius within twenty-four hours, and the immediate appointment of a successor to Pastor Horbius. The senate promised a decision on the next Monday. On that day the senate and the one hundred and eighty met and sat for thirty hours, finally deciding that the Horbius family must go. Outside the Rathhaus was a dense crowd. The butchers and boatmen, who were Horbites, were driven off by the others, with a loss of one killed and thirty-six more or less seriously wounded. When the senate tried to come out to allay the tumult they were forcibly prevented, and the egregious Dr. Meyer, who was largely responsible for all the trouble, and whose tongue had been the most unbridled tongue in Hamburg, tried to force them to officially declare that he was not a disturber of the peace. This they refused to do. Later, Dr. Meyer brought suit against Dr. Hincklemann for libel, but lost it. The wrangling continued until the following June, when a kind of settlement was reached—a so-called amnesty was issued. All book printers and book sellers were forbidden to print or sell anything on the Horbius matter. The struggle continued, however, between the senate, who had mostly favoured Horbius, and the Bürgerschaft, the majority of whom were against him. The senate, against its will, was compelled to reinstate Pastor Lange, who had been suspended, and to dismiss an alderman who had favoured Horbius. January 26, 1695, Pastor Horbius died.

The Bürgerschaft, having completely triumphed over the senate in this matter, continued to insist on having their own way in every matter, and when the senate refused to do as it was told, the Bürgerschaft usurped its functions, such as naming candidates for offices, clerical and lay, removing obnoxious officials and appointing successors; the senate nearly always submitting, even when the Bürgerschaft went so far as to depose one of the senators and nominate his successor.

When the Bürgerschaft began a crusade against the Jews, the

senate tried for some time to protect them, but, after five stormy meetings, they gave in, and all Jews in Hamburg were condemned to pay double the taxes paid by Christians, to give up their synagogue and school, to burn no lamps on Fridays, and to employ no Christians.

In many other ways the *Bürgerschaft*, and the aldermen at their head, annoyed the senate. They even passed a resolution that the senate was to pass no law without receiving the consent of the aldermen.

They continued their opposition to the senate in every possible manner. The first few years of the eighteenth century there was practically chaos in the city. The *Bürgerschaft* antagonized the senate, but the aldermen and the upper class of the *Bürgerschaft* were compelled to do many things which they did not want to do, and to go to extremes of which they did not approve, by the turbulent common people, led by a noisy demagogue named Stielcke, a ropemaker by trade, who led his mob into the council rooms, sat on the aldermen's chairs and proclaimed freedom. When he presented a demand—he called it a supplication—he did it at the head of a noisy bodyguard of smiths, coopers, carpenters and other artisans. Frahm, Bülau and Küssell were his lieutenants. No proper business was allowed to proceed. All salaries and debts remained unpaid, and when the *Bürgerschaft* took heart and arrested these latter for tearing up the benches in the Rathhaus and driving out the people who were opposed to them, Stielcke at once demanded that they should be released, should be paid a thousand marks damages each, and that certain persons, guilty of their arrest, should be dismissed from office. The senators must also be deprived of their salaries. The *Bürgerschaft* released the prisoners, but did not otherwise obey these orders. This sort of thing went on for years. Whenever Stielcke or Krumbholtz, a clerical backer of his, wanted anything done by the senate, they forced the *Bürgerschaft* to ask for it, to insist upon having the senate vote for it, and if the vote was not unanimous, to find out who were the opponents and peremptorily dismiss them from office. The senate was powerless but refused to meet. The *Bürgerschaft* elected new senators, who refused to act until threatened with fine and banishment. The aldermen were almost as unpopular as the senators, and refused also to meet. The popular body then summoned the senate and aldermen to meet at a certain time, and every one who did not attend was to pay 1000 marks fine. Still they refused. The president burgo-

master refused repeated summonses to come at midnight and summon the senators. He was threatened with 1000 thalers fine, but still refused. The amount was raised to 2000 thalers, and the officers of the city militia were ordered to collect it, but they refused. The meeting where this took place howled that the officers were enemies of liberty. The meeting lasted three days and three nights, but accomplished nothing. The senate and their friends had made a stand, and the Stielckes and Krumboltzes hesitated to begin civil war. Meantime the state of things in the city became known abroad, and the emperor appointed the King of Prussia, Count von Schönborn and the Elector of Brunswick as commissioners, to investigate. This commission sent troops which arrived May 13, 1707, but the city gates were closed. A public meeting was hastily summoned, at which a number of Stielcke's adherents attacked the venerable burgomaster, shook him and nearly killed him, and tore their wigs from and otherwise mishandled the senators, calling them traitors. For five days the gates were kept closed, and occasional shots fired, although repeated assurances were sent in that no harm should be done the people, the town or their privileges. The troops had come to conduct the emperor's commissioner, Count von Schönborn, who demanded admission. Should this be refused, then, indeed, force must be used. After five days, on May 18, the senate's wish that Schönborn should be officially met was agreed to, and a committee was appointed. In the meantime the senate reported that in case of siege the city was entirely unprepared with food and ammunition, as the duty of attending to these matters had been taken from them, since when it had been done by no one, and in consequence the senate claimed that it was necessary to receive the imperial commissioners. The aldermen were of the same opinion, and the people, seeing they could not stand a siege, had to submit. After some more hesitation the troops of the commission—600 Swedes, 600 Prussians, 600 Brunswickers and 500 Hanoverians—entered the city with the representatives of the rulers of the different countries. The reign of lawlessness and terror was at an end. Three days afterwards, on June 3, the commissioners arrested the leaders who for so long had terrorized the city, collected the money, paid no debts, upset all laws and ejected and maltreated all legal officials. The city's ammunition and food supplies, as we have seen, had not been purchased. The contribution or tax due to the empire had not been paid for years. The salaries of officials and soldiers were also several years in arrears, yet the

rates and taxes had been higher than ever. Every one holding office, every one having property, every one differing from the dictators was denounced as an enemy of liberty and degraded and fined. Dr. Krumbholtz, an educated clergyman, the only educated man among them, was in the habit of denouncing the senators, aldermen and clergymen as "brainless idiots," "brothers of Judas," "asses and fools," and urging that all such should be turned out of the city and their goods confiscated. He was the first to be arrested, then Stielcke, and Küssell a publican, Frahm a cooper, and others. They were not tried for two years, when Krumbholtz, Stielcke and Küssell were condemned to imprisonment for life. One man got fifteen years, and four who had escaped from the city were permanently banished. Alderman Witte, who had not been among the extremists, yet shared their views to some extent, was allowed to be a prisoner in his own house. His chief offence was his bitter opposition to the commission, and his belief that neither emperor nor commissioner had a right to interfere in the affairs of the city. He remained a prisoner in his own house for thirty-seven years, and died in 1746.

The commission entered the city in May 1708, and left, finally, in December 1712. The cost to the city was enormous, but the work was thoroughly done. The constitution and laws, civil and religious, were thoroughly overhauled. The people of all classes were reconciled, and the brawling demagogues were disposed of. The hopes of Denmark's king that the condition of anarchy would go on until he could interfere to protect his "hereditary subjects" were frustrated, and with this very modern episode, so like the French revolutionaries of eighty years later, the mediæval history of Hamburg may be said to have ended.

CHAPTER XVI

A BRIEF CHRONICLE OF MODERN EVENTS

THE chronicle of the city in more modern times must be more briefly told.

The commission had hardly left Hamburg before Denmark blockaded the river and made impossible demands upon the city. With the purpose of invading the duchy of Bremen, which was Swedish, Danish troops crossed the river, and, when Ham-

burg was nearly surrounded, demanded a tribute of 500,000 thalers. When the city refused to pay, the Danes invaded the Vierlanden, and after much haggling accepted 250,000 thalers to go. This they did in November 1712, and in December the Swedes defeated the Danes and drove them away. They burned Altona to the ground. The Russians and Saxons, who were allies of Denmark, gathered at Wandsbeck, and Peter the Great took up his headquarters at the Russian Legation in Hamburg. When he left on January 19, 1713, he demanded a fine of 400,000 thalers from the city for various insults and neglects of duty. This demand he reduced to 200,000 thalers, but stated that if this were not paid by a certain day at seven in the morning, Russian troops should occupy the city. He got the money and then moved on to Lübeck, where he played the same game successfully, entering the city as a guest and an ally, and forcing unwilling contributions, to pay for pretended grievances.

That year, 1713, was a heavy year for the city. They had to pay the accumulated taxes due for several years to the empire, the enforced tribute to Dane and Russian, and the necessary current expenses. The citizens were burthened almost beyond bearing. There was little or no money being made by any one, and the plague was very severe, carrying off many victims daily. The population was 70,000, and there were 11,000 deaths from plague that year, "not counting foreigners or Jews." For thirty-four weeks there was a strict quarantine on every side of the city, Denmark, Lüneburg, Hanover and Bremen preventing all communication with the stricken city. This was finally removed in April 1714, when business again began and provisions were again freely brought into the city.

The next serious event was a financial panic in 1726, brought about chiefly by Denmark and Holstein-Gottorp, who declared Hamburg money to be worth much less than its face value, and prohibited all trade with the city. The Danes during the centuries had done Hamburg as much harm as they could; they had threatened, deceived, besieged and bullied; they had mulcted them in fines, captured their ships, confiscated their goods; but this was the first time they had refused to take their money. They also closed the German or Hamburg offices at Bergen. The King of Denmark added insult to these injuries by refusing constantly to receive the ambassadors who were repeatedly sent to see him about these regulations. In 1729 Denmark posted troops on all the roads leading into Holstein. From time to time further demands were made for homage, for

tribute, for abandonment of old customs, and for the abolition of a bank which the king objected to. In the summer of 1734 eight Hamburg ships and their cargoes were captured in the river. In 1735 the city offered Denmark 450,000 marks to stop her unfriendly proceedings, but in vain. At last, in July 1735, Denmark agreed to recognize Hamburg money at its full value, to return the captured ships, to permit free intercourse, and to leave other matters in dispute to the courts; and Hamburg paid 500,000 marks and shut up the obnoxious Courant Bank.

Denmark never seemed to be able to let Hamburg alone, and in 1741 the king made fresh demands. He requested that all goods brought to Altona by sea should be admitted to Hamburg free from all taxes. He also stated that his request must be complied with within four weeks, or he would take retaliatory measures. Hamburg replied that her own citizens had to pay taxes on all goods imported by sea, and it was impossible to prefer the citizens of Altona and give them privileges that must result, in time, in transferring all trade by sea to that town.

The Emperor Carl VI. died in 1741, and in 1742 the new emperor, Carl VII., demanded a coronation gift, and the city felt compelled to grant 50,000 guldens.

Trade was bad; many of the old sources of wealth had ceased, the manufacture of cotton prints was the only new trade, and nearly every one felt poor, because oversea trade was hindered by the war, English ships largely controlling the seas, and pirates were so numerous and so active in the Mediterranean that Hamburg trade with that part of the world was entirely at an end. Magdeburg protested against the Hamburg ships trading in the upper Elbe valley, and that branch of industry was ruined. Everything must be transhipped at Magdeburg for the upper river. The brewing industry also declined, and from being the most important trade of the city dwindled to insignificance.

The earthquake at Lisbon, 1756, ruined many Hamburg merchants, who lost ships, warehouses and their contents. Hamburg had at that time very large trade with Portugal. The Hamburg Exchange announced a loss of 4,000,000 thalers—an enormous sum for those times—by the earthquake. Many failures were the result. Nevertheless the city sent four ships laden with building materials and 100,000 marks in money as a gift for the relief of the stricken city of Lisbon.

The Seven Years' War enriched a few speculators, but in general was almost destructive of trade; and Hamburg neglected



COUNCIL HOUSE, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

to keep her defences in order, because of the impossibility of raising the necessary money by further taxation. Denmark selected this time to demand a loan of 1,500,000 marks, or take the consequences. In spite of her poverty, Hamburg was not prepared for war, and felt compelled to at least partially comply with this demand, and lent the king 400,000 thalers for six years at five per cent. in 1759.

In 1762 the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp succeeded to the Russian throne as Peter III. He made peace with Frederick the Great of Prussia and marched his army against Denmark, for the purpose of taking Holstein from her. The king, March 1762, led an army of 70,000 men to Segeburg and demanded a further loan of 1,000,000 thalers from Hamburg. The senate refused because it was impossible, and the king sent 10,000 men, under the Duke of Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, to beleaguer the city. The foreign representatives in Hamburg protested, but in vain. On June 21, the Danish resident minister announced that unless he received the promise of the million, with 300,000 thalers down, his orders were to leave the city that day. The city submitted and the troops were withdrawn. In consideration of this, the Hamburgers were granted all of the privileges of trade enjoyed by Hollanders in Denmark. In order to pay these demands, Hamburg was compelled to borrow the money from abroad.

The Russian danger was escaped by the action of Catherine II, who murdered her husband, Peter III., and placed his crown on her own head. She recalled her army to Russia. The people of Hamburg were furious at being compelled to lend money to Denmark, and the senate found it necessary to place guards at the houses of Denmark's minister.

In February 1763 the Seven Years' War came to an end, and another financial crisis occurred which ruined many Hamburg merchants. In fact, the general prosperity was reduced to a very low ebb, and hard times lasted many years.

In 1767 the King of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, who was also a Russian prince, made a formal demand for restitution of their rights in Hamburg; or, if not, then that a permanent final understanding should be come to. The emperor had formally declared, in 1618, that Hamburg was a free city of the empire, but the house of Holstein had appealed and kept the matter in abeyance, so that Hamburg had never been able to send her representatives to the Reichstag, as did Bremen and other free cities. Now the city agreed to the

proposal of the king and dukes, and their commissioners met and agreed to a treaty, which was ratified July 14, 1768, by which the king and dukes gave up their claims for ever, and Hamburg forgave 1,000,000 thalers of the debt owed her by the other parties to the treaty.

In November 1769 Syndic Jacob Schuback took his seat in the imperial councils as the first representative of the free, imperial city of Hamburg.

The (at last really) free city was for a long time crippled by her heavy debts, the impossibility of increasing the taxes and the bad state of trade. The war between England and her colonies did not improve Hamburg's trade, and poverty became so general that in 1786 it was stated that one-twelfth of the population claimed public assistance.

After the close of the American war, and before the troubles in France became acute, there was a slight improvement in trade, especially with Russia. The French Revolution added to the sufferings of the citizens of Hamburg. The German Empire trebled the amount which Hamburg was obliged to contribute, and trade dwindled again; but when the French occupied Holland the shipping trade was diverted from the great Netherland ports to Bremen and Hamburg, and those ports for a time enjoyed a great boom. Business of all kinds flourished. Everything became dear, but everybody was earning money, and for a short time the city enjoyed prosperity; but a famine set in, the empire increased its tax fivefold, and all the population, excepting the few rich, suffered. Things were no better when Prussia, Brunswick and Hanover raised an army to protect northern Germany. A corps of 42,000 men was raised, and Hamburg's share of the expenses was 2,250 measures of oats, 6,650 cwts. of hay, 825 bundles of straw and 450 measures of rye flour, besides 29,880 thalers. There was much discontent, naturally, and many citizens said openly that it would be better to be under Danish protection than a part of an empire which did nothing for them and taxed them severely.

On January 4, 1798, the three Hanseatic cities were notified by the French Government that, by way of showing their appreciation of the friendship of France, they were to be allowed to advance 18,000,000 francs at once—Lübeck 4,000,000, and Bremen and Hamburg each 7,000,000.

On February 15, as the money had not been paid, the Hanseatic minister was ordered by the French Government to leave France, and only pacified the Government by promising

that the cities should within a short time pay 12,000,000 francs, for which the Directory agreed to guarantee the commercial rights and political existence of the Hanse towns. Hamburg, because of this agreement, sent 4,000,000 to Paris.

The next trouble came in 1798, the year of the Irish rebellion. Napper Tandy and three other Irish leaders arrived in Hamburg on November 23, and put up at a hotel called the American Arms. At the request of the British minister they were arrested the next day. Two of them, Tandy and Blackwell, held commissions in the French army, and the French minister protested against their arrest and demanded their release. As both diplomats threatened the city with condign punishment, the senate kept the prisoners and ordered an investigation, which lingered so long that on January 29, the French minister announced that if they were not at once released he should demand his passports and withdraw. The aldermen were on his side, but the senate and council considered the British minister right, and that the prisoners were British subjects taken in open rebellion.

The French minister kept his word and left the place. Shortly after it was reported that the French in Holland were fitting out an expedition against Hamburg. Denmark, Prussia and Russia all offered protection. Russia offered to send five regiments to occupy the city at once, whereupon Prussia protested; and when her offer was refused, Russia angrily withdrew her minister, saying that Hamburg's senators were all anarchists and republicans. England blockaded the Elbe. The senate then offered to give up two of the prisoners to England and to exchange the other two for two prominent emigrants, but England, backed by Russia, demanded all four. The emperor and Denmark advised Hamburg to do what England asked. The blockade had stopped trade, many business houses failed, and the city delivered up her prisoners October 1, 1799, after having been assured that their lives were not to be taken. France at once dismissed the Hamburg minister, laid an embargo on all Hamburg ships, and announced her determination to ruin the Bank of Hamburg, because it was in the pay of the British. The city came out of this affair regarded as an enemy of France and Russia, and with suspicion and distrust by the other Powers.

In 1801 England was at war with the northern Powers, and on March 28 the commander of the Danish army in Holstein informed the city that he must settle his troops within her walls, for the better protection of the Elbe from the English,

and that if the gates were not open for him the next morning by eight o'clock, he would attack. As there was no hope of help, the Danes were admitted. The next day the English fleet arrived before Copenhagen, and the battle took place three days later. Then the Czar Paul of Russia was assassinated, and Alexander, the new czar, made peace with England. Denmark joined in the peace, and on May 23, the Danes, who had behaved very well during their stay, marched out of Hamburg, having cost the city 550,000 marks.

In that same year, owing to pressure from the French Government, Hamburg lent France 4,500,000 francs, and the French minister returned to Hamburg in June 1802, after peace had been made between England on the one hand and France, Spain and the Netherlands on the other. The emperor had also made peace with Napoleon, yielding him portions of German territory. In order to indemnify such princes as lost their principalities, forty-two of the free cities of Germany were pounced upon and given to the suffering princes. Only six had the good luck to escape, and they only by merest chance, as no question of right seems to have been asked. The six lucky ones were Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Augsburg and Nuremberg.

The fortifications had become antiquated, and, not having been kept up during the long-continued hard times, were dilapidated, and in order to offer no inducement for attack, the senate decided to destroy all of them, excepting the inner wall, which was sufficient protection against wandering bands of soldiers who had no modern artillery. The work occupied most of 1804-5. The guns and cannon-balls were sold for old metal, and the sites of the fortifications were made into gardens by the famous Bremen head gardener, Altmann. The city could no longer be besieged, but in 1806 England blockaded the Elbe and other German rivers, as she was at war with Prussia.

In August the Emperor Francis II. resigned the imperial crown, and the Holy Roman Empire (or the German Empire) had come to an end. Hamburg, being no longer a free imperial city, now announced that henceforth she was to be known officially as the free Hanseatic city of Hamburg. In November 1806 Napoleon appointed Marshal Brune to be governor-general of the Hanse towns. Four days later Marshal Mortier and his staff entered the city, and Colonel Bazancourt was made commandant. All communication with England was at once cut off, all English goods were ordered to be destroyed. One result

was a financial crisis which brought down many old-established commercial houses.

July 7, 1807, Bernadotte arrived in Hamburg as governor of the Hanse towns. The city was ordered to pay 16,000,000, one quarter of that sum at once, and the rest in monthly instalments of 2,000,000 each. The French occupation had already cost the city more than 5,000,000 of marks. January 1808 the laws were all abolished and the Code Napoléon substituted. February 1808 came conscription for the French navy. The people were told that they had been incorporated into the French empire permanently, and that no diplomatic arrangements could ever be made which changed their political circumstances. November 5, 1810, there was a house to house search for English goods, and on November 17, and December 6, there were great bonfires made of the English goods which had been found. On December 13, the mouths of the Scheldt, the Maas, the Rhine, the Ems, the Weser and the Elbe were formally incorporated into the French empire. The new department of the Elbe mouth included Hamburg, Lübeck, Lüneburg and Stade, with the former city as seat of government.

February 8, 1811, Davoust, Prince of Eckmühl, of hated memory, made his first appearance in the town. He lived at the house of the Günther family in the Bleichen. February 13, he abolished the senate and appointed Burgomaster Heise as maire. A translation of the Code Napoléon was made public. The city militia was disbanded, but its members were incorporated in the 127th French Regiment, dressed in French uniforms, and sent to Ratzeburg. The city arms were removed from all public buildings and French arms put in their places. Every official had to swear allegiance to the Emperor Napoleon.

The French rule was very strict. The slightest opposition was instantly punished, and the citizens behaved like lambs until they heard the news—in 1812—of the defeat of the French in Russia, when all North Germany became restless. The first outbreak in Hamburg was in February 1813, when an effort was made by the commandant to ship a number of conscripts to the army. At the same time the custom house officers were to send a number of casks of money to France. A rising took place, the conscripts were set free, and the customs officers chased until they found refuge in a guard-house. The maire, Abendroth, with the police commissioner, went into the midst of the throng to try and quiet them, but they drove the maire away with sticks and stones, and not only gave the obnoxious



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chief of police a body-beating, but demolished his house. The French arms were torn down from the public buildings, and the French government buildings destroyed. General St. Cyr sent for help, and a squadron of Danish hussars came and restored order. Many of the better class citizens then formed themselves into a company of mounted home-guards, and offered themselves to St. Cyr to keep order in the town. He accepted their services and lent them arms. A Russian living in Hamburg, named Kupfer, was arrested by the French police three days after this riot, and shot as a Russian spy who had stirred up the mob. On March 3, six men were arrested in their beds, taken to headquarters and shot. The French were going on with these arrests and executions, when Maire Abendroth told them if another took place he should be unable to restrain the whole populace from rising and taking revenge. The new home-guards declined to act after these executions, and disbanded.

March 12, the garrison marched out of Hamburg. The Russians, under General Tettenborn, reached Bergedorf March 17, and the general said he could treat only with the burgo-masters and senate of the city. He must regard the maire as an enemy. So the old senate met and declared the French rule at an end. That evening some Cossacks entered the city, and were received with joy, music and much beer. The city was illuminated, and the people marched about singing: "Nun danket alle Gott." Tettenborn, with 1,400 men, entered the city the next day, and found it decked with flags and flowers and wreaths; and all the bells were rung, all the cannon roared for joy. The whole city was delirious with delight.

Although the French had drained the population of young men for both army and navy, Tettenborn was enabled to raise 3,660 men to form a Hanseatic legion, whilst 7,200 men were enlisted and drilled as a city guard.

But the French were not conquered yet. On April 27, Davoust took Harburg. Napoleon sent him orders to retake Hamburg, to arrest all those men who called themselves senators, to confiscate their property, to disarm the whole district, and to raise from Hamburg and Lübeck a fine of 50,000,000 of francs.

Davoust at once advanced, and after a series of skirmishes in which the city troops behaved well and lost many men, helping the Danish troops as well as they could, the French succeeded in gaining a commanding position, from which, with six howitzers—all they had brought with them—they bombarded

the city for many days. On May 19, the Danes left Hamburg because Denmark had joined the French, and retired to Holstein, and 1,500 Swedes took their place, but were at once recalled; and Tettenborn and his Cossacks were the only foreign troops left, and they soon found it wise to depart, and on May 30, the enemy entered the gates. The burgomaster and senators had also fled. Davoust commanded a general illumination. Any window without a light was to be smashed and its owner fined. Next day the French arms again appeared on the buildings, and everything was once more French. The city was ordered to pay a fine of 48,000,000 francs within a month. Davoust then began to investigate the recent occurrences. Eighteen senators and all the officers of the city troops were declared guilty and condemned—fortunately they had all escaped. Davoust then proceeded to rule the city with an iron hand. He used great vigour in collecting the fine, at times taking hostages from families supposed to have wealth, and keeping them in prison until ransomed. An extra 10,000,000 francs was demanded for supplying a depot with provisions. Three of the churches were used as storehouses. He also compelled the building of a bridge to Harburg within two months, at great expense in labour and money. He had every house searched for anything which might be useful, such as provisions, ammunition or money. In September, having drained the city dry of funds, he seized the Bank of Hamburg, and confiscated all its cash, books and papers. He got about 7,500,000 marks in money by this successful operation. Meantime the allies had been closing in on the French. On December 1, Davoust was driven back from Lübeck and Ratzeburg, and came with 16,000 men into Hamburg. He made diligent search for anything which might be useful to his men, and drove out all the poorer people and useless mouths, including the dwellers in the orphan asylums and hospitals. The St. Catherine's, St. Peter's, St. Jacobi and St. Nicholas's churches were made into stables. Eight hundred sick, 60 lunatics and 349 orphan children were among those suddenly banished, more than 150 of whom died before reaching a possible resting-place in Eppendorf. The allies soon had the city beleaguered. February 8, 1814, the attack began, and there were skirmishes almost constantly. Davoust announced that he would defend the place to the last and be buried in its ruins. The siege continued, with frequent battles, until April 26, when Davoust, hearing that Paris was taken and Louis XVIII. was king, asked for an armistice. Three days later the tricolor

was lowered and the white flag of the Bourbons replaced it, to show that Hamburg was still French. On May 12, Davoust resigned the command to General Gerard, who surrendered to the allies, and the city was free once more. May 26, the old senate and the old laws were restored.

It has been estimated that the money loss during the period from 1806 to 1814 amounted to about 185,000,000 marks, not including indirect losses of private individuals.

When the Bank of Hamburg tried to have its cash and papers returned, the answer of the Bourbon Government was that the money taken was but a part of the fine due from the city, and that consequently France was not under any obligation to return it.

The plucky citizens began at once to pick up the broken threads of their various trades and professions. Commerce revived slowly, and the city began to recover, though there was an immense amount of suffering and many well-to-do and prominent families had disappeared altogether. Many who had fled returned to find nothing belonging to them left. The moral and spiritual condition of the population was as miserable as was the financial. Crimes were numerous and morality rare. A period of dishonest speculation, luxury and extravagance ensued, followed in 1819 and 1820 by serious financial panics and many heavy failures. In the latter year began the destruction of all remaining fortifications, new and old. Everything began to improve, although it took many years for Hamburg to regain her old high standard. In 1832 it was announced that since 1816 the city debt had been reduced by 5,000,000 marks—about one-sixth of the whole. In 1833 a sort of crusade against the Jews took place. There were frequent riots in the streets, and the houses of the numerous estimable Jews of the better classes were stoned and had their windows broken. Troops were called out, and behaved so harshly that there was an uprising against the Government, and six or eight people were killed before order was restored. The dissatisfaction died out gradually.

In 1842 the first railway—a short line from Hamburg to Bergedorf—was to have been opened on May 7. Much interest was felt in this event, and everybody was preparing for the holiday. A fire broke out on the morning of May 5, at No. 44, Deichstrasse. There had been an unusually dry April, and there was a bitter east wind blowing, and, in spite of strenuous efforts of nineteen fire-engines, many firemen, and many soldiers who

were hastily called out, the fire spread rapidly. Numerous warehouses, filled with costly and inflammable goods, were soon burning. Spices, spirits, oils, cottons, wines, rags, sugar, almost every imaginable kind of goods was burning. The streets were running with burning spirits, carrying the fire almost as much as did the wind. Houses in the line of the coming flames were torn down or blown up with gunpowder, but the whole supply of powder was exhausted before the work was done.

Men and women of all classes worked at the pumps, carried buckets or tried to rescue valuable property. The officers and men of some English ships successfully fought the fire in the Pelzerstrasse. Men and engines from Altona and Stade did everything possible to help. The fire burned or raged for three days and nights. It is said that only twenty-one persons lost their lives. Nearly 2000 houses, including most of the churches and other public buildings, were destroyed, 20,000 people were burned out of house and home, and the money loss has been placed at 100,000,000 marks. Nearly everything that was most rare, quaint, beautiful, artistic and of historic interest had been destroyed. Although its house was burned, the Bank of Hamburg never stopped business for a day. One of its directors, Salomon Heine, carried off its books and papers and started its clerks and officials to work in a safe place. Heine also, by his energy, his personal influence and his wealth, kept business going and prevented a financial disaster.

Relief funds were raised all over the civilized world, and the energetic citizens were soon organized into committees of all sorts, relieving the sufferers and planning for the future. It was decided to rebuild the city with broader streets and open squares, and in the midst of all the anxieties and labours about 150 leading citizens petitioned the council for a revision of the constitution, but the senate decided that it was not then the best time to undertake that work. In July a second and more urgent petition to the same effect was sent in, and Dr. Kirchenpaur and the other able men who were active in the movement continued, in season and out of season, demanding reform, in spite of the refusals of the senate and highly respected, intensely conservative Burgomaster Bartels. Kirchenpaur was chosen senator in December 1843, and eventually his party triumphed and the constitution was revised, but not for another ten years or more. The revolutionary year 1848 passed in Hamburg with a few outbursts of discontent from the lowest classes. A few

windows were broken, a few small riots took place, and in one of them a man was killed. Nothing important in the way of revolution happened.

Since that time Hamburg has had much and varied history, but it may be called the history of our own time. When the various German states formed a customs union, called the Zollverein, with free trade between its various component parts, Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck did not join it. They and their ports remained free. They were, or became, the great havens into which goods came free of duty and were stored for being taken into the Zollverein when required, when the duties were paid. A great warehousing and storing business was needed to accommodate these waiting wares.



In 1864, as a member of the German Confederacy, Hamburg for the latest and, it is to be hoped, the last time fought against her ancient enemies the Danes.

In 1866 her lot was cast with Prussia in the civil war which resulted in the formation of the North German Confederacy, of which she was a member.

Her sons fought bravely in the Franco-German War in 1870, and she has ever since been a part of the German empire, and, owing to the Bismarckian policy, she has been forced to abandon free trade and to join the Zollverein. Since doing so, despite a visitation of cholera which cost many lives and was probably due to an infected supply of drinking water, she has more than doubled in size, and is now, with nearly 1,000,000 inhabitants, one of the handsomest, best governed, richest and most prosperous cities not only in Germany, but in the world.

BOOK III
LÜBECK



Seal of the City of Rostock.



Seal of the City of Hamburg.

CHAPTER I

BARDEWICK, THE FORERUNNER OF LÜBECK

WHEN Charlemagne conquered the Saxons and, after thirty years of almost constant fighting, subdued the tireless Witukind and all his followers, he appointed Bardewick as a market-place where his new subjects, the Saxons, could trade with the Wends and Slavs from across the Elbe. Doubtless at that time Bardewick was nothing but a village, yet it was probably more of a town than any other place in the whole land, for the Saxons did not like living behind walls or with many neighbours.

There are many legends as to the origin of Bardewick, which is possibly the oldest town in northern Germany. One tradition calls it the second oldest town in the world, Treves being older. The latter was built by Abraham whilst Bardewick was not founded until 1,065 years later.

A seventeenth century writer says: "It was built in the 2,885th year after the creation of the world, or 990 years before the birth of Christ. This is known from some verses, still to be seen, carved over the door of the cathedral—

"Abram dum natus mox Treveris incipitatus
Huic annis Barduic mille sex & quoq. quinque
Post Barduic Roma duo C. cum quinq. triginta
M. C. post nat. junctis octoginta novemque
Dum Brunsuicensis dux Henricus Leo dictus
Simonis in feste Barduick subvertit ab alto."

The same writer says: "According to *Cranzius Saxoniae* the town got its name from its founder, Bardone; but Meibromius, in his *Historia Bardevici*, contradicts this, and says that the Bards, a northern people, gave their name to the place."

In the *Chronicon Barduic* it is stated that, according to popular belief, it was called Barduic because the bards and druids of the ancient religion had there their school, monastery, headquarters or whatever it should be called.

Another legend says that Egistus, one of the seventy-two disciples sent out by Christ to preach the gospel, spent a number of years there preaching and making converts, and

that he finally died there and his bones are buried under the high altar of the cathedral.

There are other stories showing the high antiquity and importance of the place, but nothing whatever seems to be certain except that Charlemagne probably designated it as the marketplace for all that region because it was well known. A town rapidly grew up, perhaps at first consisting chiefly of booths built by the various traders for their own accommodation during the frequent fairs; but becoming, little by little, more permanent and substantial; so that, when she reappears in the pages of the chroniclers, three hundred and fifty years later, she is recognized as the largest, gayest and most important city in North Germany; a strong fortress, well protected by encircling walls, and having a stately cathedral and eight other churches built of brick and stone.

Frederick Barbarossa was the emperor at the time of this reappearance, and Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, his most powerful vassal, was lord of Bardewick.

At the time of Charlemagne the Slav races occupied all the lands east of the Elbe, but the Saxons pushed them back, further and further, until in Barbarossa's time most of Holstein and much of Brandenburg were Saxon and nominally Christian.

In the eleventh century the Wagrians, a Slav race, still held eastern Holstein and Mecklenburg; and Gottschalk, their king, built a village called Lübeck, which was completely wiped out by Slav enemies from the island of Rügen in the year 1138. This place was never rebuilt. The Slavs were driven out of Holstein, and Adolf II. of Schauenburg, who was made count of Holstein, selected another and better site for a town which he built and named Lübeck, in 1143, at the junction of the Wacknitz and the Trave. He built a castle on a low hill and the town gathered around it. Two years later Niklot, king of the Wends, surprised the place, killed many of the inhabitants and burned the ships lying in the river; but was unable to capture the citadel, so that he was soon driven back to his own land.

Lübeck grew in importance. In 1149 Vicelin was made bishop of the Holstein Oldenburg, and proved to be an energetic missionary, making many converts among Wends, including their new King Pribislaw, and working hard for the good of the churches in the new Lübeck, which was in his diocese.

The town grew; its trade became important, and Henry the Lion found it was interfering with the welfare of his town of Bardewick. His action was characteristic of the man. He notified Count Adolf that the new town of Lübeck was robbing his old town of Bardewick of her trade, and as that was a part of his patrimony, received from his fathers, he could not allow it to continue; consequently he requested Count Adolf to give him the new town, and while he was about it to shut up some newly opened salt wells in Holstein which were interfering with the monopoly in salt of his wells at Lüneburg.

Naturally Count Adolf refused to comply with these requests, but Henry was his feudal lord, and a very terrible one, not likely to brook a refusal.

The new town had attracted settlers from the neighbouring Holstein and Mecklenburg, and also from Flanders, Frisia and interior parts like Brunswick and Westphalia, drawn to the new port by the growing importance of the Baltic trade. Suddenly these busy people were informed that the duke had withdrawn or cancelled all their privileges as a market, and almost immediately afterward the town was nearly burned down. The disheartened citizens refused to build again on a spot where they had no market privileges, and they threatened to build a new town in some other place. The count, finding that he had lost his city and its people, gave in and delivered up the site of Lübeck and its castle to his liege lord, Duke Henry.

The market rights and other privileges were regranted, the people returned and, before long, the city was again flourishing, defended by strong walls and governed by a lieutenant of the duke. Subject to the approval of this governor, the citizens chose their own counsellors, who made their own laws, excepting those relating to taxes and coinage, which were controlled by the duke. Any serf living unmolested in the town for a year and a day became free, and the council elected its own successors.

Pleased with his new acquisition the duke tried in every way to increase the prosperity of Lübeck; much to the satisfaction of its inhabitants, but not to that of the people of Bardewick, who saw much of their trade being taken from them and handed over to the new town by their own duke.

The arrogance and insubordination of Henry the Lion finally exhausted the emperor's patience, and he was declared an

enemy of the empire in 1180. Henry had made enemies of all his neighbours, who gladly came at the call of the emperor, who marched in person, at the head of his army, against this too proud and powerful vassal. Henry, with his dwindling army, fled to his stronghold, Bardewick; but that city, angry at his recent favouring of Lübeck, declared for the emperor and shut its gates in the face of the duke, who was obliged to continue his flight to Stade, near the mouth of the Elbe.

Barbarossa, following quickly, was welcomed with delight by Bardewick, from whence he marched to Lübeck. That city, mindful of many favours recently heaped upon her by Henry the Lion, shut her gates and refused to admit the emperor. Frederick summoned the town to surrender to him, her sovereign, and said truly that resistance was hopeless. The reply was that the people recognized the rights of the emperor, but they had sworn to hold the town for the duke against all comers. If the emperor would wait they would send a messenger to the duke at Stade to tell him the situation. If then the duke gave his consent, they would gladly open the gates to the emperor; but if he refused they must hold out even though it cost them their lives and property.

The emperor agreed and gave the ambassador of the people safe conduct to Stade. When Henry heard his message he saw the hopelessness of the situation, and reluctantly instructed the loyal townsmen to admit their sovereign. This they did with joy, and the emperor was so pleased with the conduct of the citizens that he confirmed all the privileges granted by the duke, after entering the town in state in September 1181.

The lands of Henry were divided amongst his enemies. Bernard of Anhalt became duke of Lauenburg, and was one of Lübeck's powerful neighbours. The counts of Holstein and Ratzeburg and the princes of Mecklenburg being others, and all of them were jealous of the city's privileges.

Henry, when banished and deprived of his lands, took refuge in England with his wife Matilda, daughter of King Henry II.

After three years he was allowed to return, sadly shorn of his greatness. Bavaria and Saxony had been taken from him, but he was still duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg. In 1185 he came back to his curtailed dominions, and on account of his efforts to increase them met with but a poor reception, and was again banished. In 1188, however, he returned once more

and met with a different reception. The archbishop of Bremen (eager for revenge on the archbishop of Cologne, who had taken portions of Brunswick and Lüneburg from Henry and opposed his brother of Bremen in some of his schemes) joined Henry, as did Holstein. Hamburg and other fortified towns opened their gates to him, and he started out to regain his dominions. Once more Bardewick was in the way with closed gates; but this time Henry was not pursued by an enraged emperor, and he vowed he would have his revenge on the insolent city.

At that time Bardewick was the finest, richest and largest town in Henry's domain. No doubt she felt with her nine or ten thousand inhabitants and stout walls quite able to defy the duke, shorn as he was. He invested the town and stormed the walls, but for two days every attack was repulsed. Then a steer, escaping from the butcher in Henry's camp, plunged into the river Ilmenare and *waded* across. The ford, the existence of which was thus first made known, was taken advantage of at once, and whilst the main body of the army renewed the direct attack a number of picked troops crossed the stream and easily scaled the walls, which were undefended at a spot which was supposed to be protected by the stream. Rushing into the city they opened the gates for Henry's main army, which entered, and the place was taken. Henry ordered the complete destruction of the town and the extermination of its inhabitants, and his orders were carried out; men, women and children were killed until the butchery came to an end for want of victims. When the rage of the conquerors had cooled, it was found that a number of people had concealed themselves in one of the churches, and the lives of these were spared. They were all women and children but one. It is said he was the only man left of all Bardewick's inhabitants, and his name was Hermann von Sturtenbuchel. The women, handed over to the soldiers,



RATZBURG

perhaps envied their sisters who had been slaughtered, and the children were carried off as slaves. The town was completely sacked. Even the cathedral windows, which were famous, were given by Henry to Ratzeburg. The houses were burned down, and when the duke's army marched away all that was left of the duke's chief city was a heap of smouldering ruins and nine gaunt, dismantled churches without roofs or windows. Bardewik never recovered. Other towns profited by her destruction. Ratzeburg got the books and relics as well as the windows. Lüneburg, only three or four miles away, began at once to grow, and used the ruined city as a quarry from which materials for her houses were drawn; and Lübeck, relieved of her chief rival in trade, and aided by the grateful Henry, as well as by the imperial favour, profited most of all.



NOVGOROD PEOPLE GETTING FURS AND TIMBER FOR GERMAN MERCHANTS. FROM ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH, STRALSUND

CHAPTER II

LÜBECK'S NEIGHBOURS

ALMOST as soon as the new rulers of Lauenburg, Ratzeburg, Holstein and Mecklenburg were settled on their thrones, they began to worry Lübeck, but that city promptly appealed to the emperor, now her only lord, and Frederick responded by asserting the city's rights. The document in which he did this was dated 1188, and is still treasured among the city's archives. It states the boundaries more favourably even than the city had claimed, and reasserts all the rights and privileges granted by Henry the Lion and confirmed by the emperor.

The city showed its gratitude by contributing largely both

men and money to the crusade which the emperor had so much at heart, and during which he lost his life.

It was during this crusade that certain merchants from Bremen and Lübeck, seeing the wretched condition of the sick and wounded of the army beleaguering Acre, turned their ships into hospitals, using the sails as awnings, which they stretched above the decks and devoted their time to the care of the wounded and suffering. Their example was followed by others, and the German princes, to show their approval of the humane conduct, established an order of knighthood called the German, or Teutonic, Knights; and decreed that for ever afterward merchants of Bremen and Lübeck were to be available as members of that order, which was otherwise composed only of men of noble birth.

Lübeck was situated on the borders of Germany and the Slavic lands. It was a frontier city built with the express purpose of trading with the heathen peoples of Slavonia and the distant east, and during her early years was constantly in danger of attack by the barbarous neighbours from the east and the fierce Danish heathen.

It is not probable that the barbarous Slavs had cities of any permanence. Their villages and market places were doubtless mere groups of wattled huts or wooden booths; but these have been magnified by the imaginations of the German monkish chroniclers into splendid dream cities as wonderful as Xanadu or Samarkand. The German towns were only beginning to assume permanence and stability. Churches and town walls and castles were built of stone or brick, but the shops and dwellings and warehouses were still but poor structures of mud or timber; and the Slavic and Scandinavian "cities" were assuredly not so good. But wonder-tales were told of them and of their glories and marvels.

Adam of Bremen, the father of modern German history, a man of monkish learning and usually self-restrained, thoroughly believed in the mythical marvels of these Slavic cities. Writing toward the end of the eleventh century, before Lübeck existed, he describes various Slavic tribes and their towns. Aldenburg on the sea coast, city of the Wagrians; Mecklenburg and Reric, cities of the Obodorites, and Ratzeburg and Demmin, chief cities of other tribes; but above all Rethra, known to all the world, the chief place of their heathen religion, where there is a great temple to Radegast, the chief of the devils. There is a statue

of him of pure gold sitting on a purple throne. And the city itself has nine great gates, and is surrounded on all sides by a deep lake over which there are wooden bridges. This city is said to lie four days' journey from Hamburg—which in Adam's time was the extreme outpost of civilization.

Adam has also heard of a famous city called Jumne on the Oder, the richest river of the Slavs. Great and almost incredible things have been told of this city, therefore Adam deems it wise to tell the truth about it. It is really the largest of all the cities which Europe contains. Slavs, Greeks and barbarians live there, and Saxons who go there are treated with justice and the same laws as the natives, so long as they do not declare that they are Christians. For all there are still slaves to heathen idolatry. But as to their manners and hospitality, there is no other people so honourable or so generous. This city, which is rich with the goods of all the northern nations, has everything that is comfortable and curious. There you find the Greek fire, and there are three seas: one green, one white, and the third is always stormy.

Jumne is seven days' journey by land from Hamburg, and Kiev in Ostragaard is fourteen days by ship from Jumne, and Kiev is a rival of Constantinople in splendour.

Another writer, Thietmar von Merseburg, gives a detailed description of the temple of Radegast at Rethra. It is a tower of triangular shape, with three doors opening into a holy grove which surrounds it on all sides, and which is carefully tended by the natives. Two of these doors leading into the temple are always open. The third and smallest on the east side has a horrible appearance, and faces a path to the sea. Behind these doors stands an altar, the pedestal of which is fashioned of the horns of beasts. The outside of this altar is covered with the pictures of gods and goddesses carved with admirable art in the wood, and painted; but within the altar stand idols, the work of men's hands, with their names; and they are fearful to look upon, because they are in full armour, with helmets and shields. The chief of them is called Zuarasici, and is adored and feared by all the heathen. Here also are kept their battle standards, which are only taken out in case of need or when they go forth to battle. And in order to take the best care of all this, especial priests are chosen from among the natives, who alone sit down when the people are gathered to make sacrifices to the idols and ask for their protection. And

whilst all the rest are standing these priests murmur to each other, and tremblingly dig in the earth seeking for signs and answers to doubtful questions.

Helmold, whose *Chronicle of the Slavs* was written about a century after Adam's death, calls Jumne Jumneta (and it was also called Vineta). He copies Adam's description, and adds that this wealthy city was completely destroyed by a Danish king who sailed up in a very great fleet of ships, but the ruins of the old town are still to be seen.

Vineta has grown more wonderful in the hands of the poets, and tales are still told of her splendours and sudden destruction—not by a Danish king but by a convulsion of nature. The island on which Vineta stood, suddenly sank beneath the sea, and even now, on perfectly calm days, when drifting near the island of Uisdom, you can see the towers and streets of the great city beneath the water; and at midnight at certain times of the year the submerged market-places are once more busy, and the hum of a living city can be heard.

“Aus dem Meerestiefem, tiefem Grunde
Klingen Abendglocken, tief und Matt,
Uns zu geben wunderbare Kunde
Von der schönen alten Wunderstadt.”

The trade routes of the near and the far east terminated at Kief and Novgorod, where also the hides and tallow of Russia and the amber of Curland and Esthonia found a market.

At first such of these articles as reached Western Europe came by long and dangerous overland routes. Daring merchants were found who undertook this business, though it meant running the gauntlet of the savages of Poland and Prussia and of the greedy titled robbers of Germany.

The ships of Northern Europe were for the most part undecked boats propelled by oars and sails, and coasting from harbour to harbour slowly and laboriously. It is true that daring warriors sailed in such boats to capture France and England and discover Iceland, Greenland and Vineland, and the merchants were hardly less adventurous or less courageous, yet for centuries there was little or no traffic on the Baltic.

Adam of Bremen, writing towards the end of the eleventh century, says that Einhard calls the Baltic a sea of undiscovered length; but owing to the energy of two very brave men, Ganuz Wolf, ruler of Denmark, and Harold, king of the Norse-

men, it has recently been explored. He also says that the Danes assured him that several persons, with favourable winds, have sailed from Denmark to Ostragaard (Russia) in one month.

From that time the voyage to the eastern end of the Baltic became more and more frequent. The dangers of contrary winds, inhospitable coasts, and pirates, were preferred to the dangers of the journey by land; and so cities or towns sprang up as neutral markets, where ships coming from Russia met ships coming from Germany and elsewhere. The first town of this sort was Birca, near Upsala in Sweden.

Although Adam describes it as having the safest harbour in Sweden, it was soon abandoned, as inconvenient, for the more suitable island of Gothland, and there the city of Wisby was founded and grew rapidly in importance. There ships and merchants from Russia and the west met, and there the products of east and west were exchanged. Very early the Germans endeavoured more or less successfully to monopolize this trade. They established factories or agencies in England, Flanders, Norway and Russia, and succeeded for a long time in keeping the Baltic carrying-trade and a good deal of that of the North Sea in their hands.

Most of the ships were owned by Germans or Frisians who had settled in the Baltic towns and in the towns of Russia, leading uncomfortable frontier lives among barbarous and heathen peoples in the hope of speedily making fortunes. But the merchants were the most enlightened people of the age, as brave as the most renowned knights, often as learned as the cloistered monks, and far broader and wiser, and they were usually admirers and patrons of the fine arts. These men sailed themselves or sent their sons with their ships, which carried much of their wealth to Wisby, and Wisby soon became famous, a seat of luxury and a place of beauty. Great merchants vied with each other in their style of living. Rival cities erected representative churches to their patron saints, and endeavoured to outdo each other in the beauty of their architecture and magnificence of decoration. Stained glass, monumental brass and carved wood and stone were brought from Flanders; oriental rugs and silks and embroideries came from Novgorod, and no town in the north—not even Bruges or Cologne—surpassed Wisby in luxury or beauty. What the German poets have dreamed about Vineta and Rethra was realized in that wonderful city on the island of the Goths in the Baltic. Its ruins

to-day, the great encircling city walls, the many and varied towers, the Gothic churches, are strangely picturesque, and of absorbing interest to the student of mediæval history or architecture.

While Wisby was growing in importance and the trade of the Baltic was rapidly increasing, Bardewick was occupying a somewhat similar position on the mainland, being the goal of the northern trade routes from the East. When Bardewick fell, Lübeck, as we have seen, was her residuary legatee, and sprang at once into importance. But Lübeck was ambitious. She wished not only to have the trade of Bardewick, but that of Wisby as well.

Situated near the mouth of the river Trave, with a harbour in which the largest ships of the known world could safely ride, Lübeck at once claimed a share in the growing and lucrative commerce of those seas. Not only did she send out her own ships, but she encouraged merchants of inland towns to build ships at Lübeck and make that their headquarters. Thus we hear of rich merchants from Soest and other Westphalian cities having their argosies at Lübeck, perhaps because the energetic Lübeckers offered some especial inducements that were refused by Cologne or Bremen.

The Germans were then, as always, colonizing people, and German emigrants were flocking to the Slavic lands and establishing new towns along the Baltic coasts, carrying Christianity and commerce with them. Lübeck was the first German town on this coast, for until Henry the Lion crushed and intimidated the Slavs there was no chance for German immigrants or Christian missionaries.

After the foundation of Lübeck the southern shores of the Baltic were rapidly converted and peopled; but the Prussian country lying inland first began seriously to yield to Christian teaching a century later, when those stern, cruel, steel-clad missionaries, the Teutonic Knights, undertook and carried out the work of disseminating the Gospel at the sword's point. Indeed, both Saxons and Slavs had the gentle doctrine of Christ forced upon them in the most un-Christlike manner, and much against their will, after being thoroughly beaten into submission by military missionaries.

The new cities on the coast grew rapidly and flourished in spite of frequent attacks from heathen natives, from robber barons and from envious rivals. Lübeck was the most success-

ful. From the first, knowing no overlord except the distant emperor, the citizens were able to carry out their own ideas and do as they pleased in a way that most cities of the time could not do. Usually there was a neighbouring feudal lord, a duke or a count, to whom the city owed allegiance, and who jealously opposed any suggestion of reform or improvement; or there was a resident archbishop, as in Cologne and Bremen, who possessed seignorial rights and weighed like an incubus upon the citizens and their aspirations.

To be sure Lübeck had a bishop, for the pope had made that city the capital of the diocese formerly known as Aldenburg in Holstein; but this bishop had no temporal power, no feudal rights, and, in consequence, rarely came into conflict with the city authorities, and was often on the best of terms with them.



EARLIEST SEAL OF LÜBECK

CHAPTER III

THE DANISH OCCUPATION

So Lübeck grew and prospered and sent out ships, taking a leading part in the Baltic trade and also stretching westwards and establishing a commerce with Norway, Flanders, France, England, Scotland and far-distant Spain. At times, indeed, the ships of Lübeck carried the striped flag of the imperial city on the Trave to Venice and Constantinople; and, as we have seen, there were merchants from Lübeck and Bremen with their ships at Acre in 1191, when Lübeck, the new Lübeck, was scarcely thirty years old. Indeed almost the first Lübeck names recorded in history are Johann Crispin, Elias Rütze, Bertram von der Wissel, Hinrich von Bardewick, Meyno Bartune, Diedrich Vorrada, Albrecht Rode, Hinrich von Bockholt and Friederich von Russe. These were the citizens of Lübeck who were appointed first members of the Teutonic order, because of their benevolence in Palestine. They were all of them afterwards senators of the city, and they were among the founders of those patrician families which have ruled her ever since.

There never was much peace for Lübeck, though she grew and flourished all the same. Her neighbours were envious of her prosperity and jealous of her freedom. There was not a duke or prince or count in the vicinity who did not believe that so rich and pleasant a city ought to have a noble master to whom she could pay taxes, and that perhaps he himself was predestined to be that master.

Holstein and Saxony, Mecklenburg, Ratzeburg and Schwerin all tried, and some of them, like Denmark, tried more than once to take the place and keep it. The full history of all Lübeck's wars with her neighbours would fill many more pages than we have to spare. In 1203 she fell into the hands of Denmark, and remained subject to that kingdom for more than twenty years.

This period of humiliating captivity taught the citizens some useful lessons and produced at least one great man—Alexander von Soltwedel.

At that time great shoals of herrings frequented the Baltic, and Lübeck had many fishing-boats which drove a very profitable trade. The favourite resort of the herring was off the

coast of Schonen, that peninsula at the extreme south of the Scandinavian mainland which is bounded by the Kattegat, the Sound and the Baltic, and which sometimes belonged to Denmark, but more often to Sweden. In the beginning of the thirteenth century it was Danish.

There was a very important and lucrative trade between Lübeck and Schonen.

The Danish king suddenly seized all the German ships in the harbours of Denmark and marched an army into Holstein. Every one fled or fell before him, and, after capturing Hamburg and Ratzeburg, he appeared before Lübeck, which surrendered without resistance. Probably the reason of this fall of the city without striking a blow was the fact that when all the Lübeck ships in Denmark were captured without any warning, most of the leading men of the city were also captured, as it was customary at that time for the owners to accompany ships and cargoes on trading expeditions, and these leading citizens, in the power of the Danes, were hostages for the good behaviour of the city herself.

Shortly after this King Waldemar entered Lübeck, at the head of a glittering train of courtiers and knights, and held a court, at which representatives of all the cities and the nobles from Holstein, Lauenburg, Mecklenburg and Pomerania were obliged to appear and do him homage as king of the Slavs and North Albigenses.

Count Albert of Orlamünde was then appointed viceroy in the place of Count Adolf of Holstein, who was compelled to abdicate and retire to his family estates on the Weser.

From that day for twenty years Lübeck had to endure the shame and the material inconvenience of having her citadel occupied by a garrison of Danish soldiers. On the other hand, the trade of Lübeck grew and expanded with other Danish towns, several of which adopted the Lübeck code of laws.

The Danes rebuilt the citadel, strengthened the city walls and built a strong castle at Travemünde—the mouth of the river. Several of the churches in Lübeck were begun at this time. The Danes changed the names of the streets, tried to change the language and, in many ways, made themselves disagreeable, growing more so as time went on, and they began to regard their occupation as permanent and a matter of course.

In the spring of 1223 King Waldemar and his son were treacherously surprised and taken prisoners by the Count of Schwerin, when the king was his guest on a hunting expedition.

The Count of Orlamünde assumed the regency, and, after a time, King Waldemar was released upon paying a heavy ransom and abandoning his German conquests. He made a pilgrimage to Rome barefoot and was there absolved, by the German-hating pope, from all promises or oaths made during his imprisonment, and coming back raised a large army for the reconquest of all he had lost.

But before all this Lübeck had succeeded in liberating herself from the Danish yoke, chiefly by means of the trick played by Alexander von Soltwedel. He was a wealthy citizen who grew prominent during the later years of the Danish occupation, when he lived in a good house, called "Zur alten Sonne."¹ He was a senator, and kept open house, entertaining the Danish officers freely and handsomely. He was consequently regarded as a leading member of the Danish party, and, as such, was frequently openly insulted by patriotic citizens. This gave him credit with the Danes, who trusted him implicitly, so that when May Day, 1226, arrived the commandant and the greater part of the garrison gladly accepted his invitation to a merry-making in the fields and woods outside the city walls. Soltwedel then explained his plan to some of the leading citizens, whom he instructed how to act. When the day dawned the burgomaster with two trumpeters went in state to the citadel and conducted the general to the festival in a fine procession, which included most of the Danish officers and soldiers, all the senators with their wives and daughters on richly caparisoned horses, with retinues of servants and many unofficial citizens. Great tents had been put up and hung with costly curtains. Rich carpets had been spread and a noble banquet prepared. There was dancing, merry-making and feasting, and some of the citizens acted comic plays.

In the meantime a procession of men, dressed fantastically in women's clothes, went dancing through the city streets, escorting a great cask of beer from Soltwedel's house to the citadel. Then they shouted to the few soldiers who had been left on guard: Senator Alexander Soltwedel was sorry they could not all come out to the fields to the festival there; but he sent them this beer to cheer them up. The soldiers gladly opened the gates to admit the mummers and the beer. The cart with the beer was stopped in the gateway so that the gates could not be closed, and with the dancers, all of whom were

¹ Now No. 5 Mühlenstrasse.

armed men, a crowd of citizens who had been concealed near by, rushed in, completely surprising and overpowering the guard, and capturing the castle.

Whilst this was going on in the town, the fun outside was never allowed to slacken, and, amid loud singing and shouts of merriment, the Danish commandant was chosen to be King of the May and crowned with a wreath of green leaves. Then von Soltwedel, filling a goblet, asked the general to drink a bumper as farewell to free Lübeck. Too late the general suspected treachery and grasped his sword. He found himself surrounded by armed senators, and von Soltwedel pointed to the citadel from which the city flag was now floating. Far outnumbered and outwitted, the Danes saw they had lost the game, and were glad to be permitted to mount their horses and ride away towards Denmark, vowing vengeance.

When, soon after this, all northern Germany was gathering to meet the Danes and King Waldemar, Soltwedel, who had been chosen burgomaster, led the Lübeck contingent, consisting of every citizen capable of bearing arms. The famous victory of Bornhöved is thought—after the prayers of Count Adolf IV. of Holstein and the active efforts of the saints—to have been chiefly due to his generalship.

When he returned to Lübeck in triumph the citizens, in their delight, tore down the Danish citadel, the symbol of their slavery, much as the French so long afterwards tore down the Bastille, the hated emblem of tyranny.

In its place was built a monastery dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, and some portions of that monastery are still to be seen near the Burgthor.

Soltwedel was one of four whose names became famous and legendary, and were highly honoured in Lübeck as the heroes of the first century of her history. There was Crispin, who took an active part in the Barbarossa Crusades. He was one of the original Teutonic Knights, and, in recognition of his valour, received an estate in Syria, which he retained until the Saracens captured Jerusalem. There was Brömse, who received his name, the device (a bramble) on his shield and a sword of honour all from Henry the Lion, because in a tournament when his opponent tore his stirrups and bridle away, he stuck like a bramble to his saddle and came out of the fray victorious. His descendants continued to be prominent citizens until quite recent times. The name of the fourth hero, Anton Vorrada, has been surrounded with myth. He is a sort of local

Roland, and described as a man of enormous size, vast strength and great beauty, who went about the world as a knight errant, first in Poland, then in France, then in England, always doing wonderful deeds and always exciting the envy, jealousy and malice of the native knights in whatever country he might be. He led an English army successfully against the Irish, and in consequence was insulted and challenged by an English knight. This knight brought a trained lion into the lists to aid him, but the great Anton cut off the face of the beast. The English knight had bribed Anton's groom to cut his saddle-girths so that he fell from his horse when he tried to gallop; but on foot he attacked his perfidious enemy, cut off the hind legs of his steed and, after hewing off his opponent's right arm, forced him to beg for his life.

In memory of this duel the English king gave Anton Vorrads the right to wear the bleeding face of a lion in his arms and to surmount his helmet with two horse's legs. Disgusted with the English he went to Pomerania, where he married a noble lady, and one of his grandsons became burgomaster of Lübeck.

Shortly after the battle of Bornhöved Lübeck sent an embassy to the Emperor Frederick II., in Italy, asking him to confirm her former privileges. This he graciously consented to do, and the confirmation came in the shape of two precious charters, one reasserting all the privileges granted by Barbarossa; the other, a sort of magna charta upon which Lübeck founded much of her future greatness, declared that the city should always remain free, a city of the empire, owing allegiance to the emperor alone, and never subject to any other.

No other city in the whole land had so clear a statement of her liberty given by an emperor. Hamburg was under the counts of Holstein; Bremen was heavily burdened by her archbishops; Lübeck alone was untrammelled. She was an upstart town, a German colony amid the Wendish people, and she was equipped with every privilege that the emperor could devise, because she was a child of the empire who did credit to her parentage and brought the emperor a pleasant and safe addition to his income.

It was not long after the grant of this charter that Lübeck had to defend her rights. Waldemar of Denmark joined his former enemy, Holstein, and together they beleaguered Lübeck. The Danes took possession of the mouth of the Trave, built a fort on each bank and stretched a chain across. A large homeward bound Lübeck ship waited for a favourable wind,

then, with all sails set, bore down upon the chain and broke it, and then sailed up to the city.

The Danes then sunk a ship filled with stones in mid-channel; but the citizens cut a short canal which diverted the channel. Then, having armed six of their largest ships, they sailed out under Soltwedel's command and surprised the much larger and more powerful fleet of the enemy. Before beginning this undertaking they swore, "To fight bravely and to stand by one another to the death. Hoping God would help the righteous cause."

The battle lasted from early morning until night, when five of the Danish ships were in flames and burned all night. The Danish admiral's ship and several others were taken, and the king himself with difficulty escaped during the night.

After this great victory, which was largely due to the genius and courage of Soltwedel, the city strengthened her walls and entered into a treaty of offence and defence with Hamburg, which was of great service to both parties. The two cities united in keeping a standing army and fleet to police the highways and the rivers Elbe and Trave.

In 1250 the Danes made war upon Lübeck, but this time Holstein and the city were again allies. The counts defeated the Danes on land at Oldesloe, and Soltwedel, now an old man, ravaged the Danish coasts with a Lübeck fleet, defeated a Danish fleet and sacked and burned Copenhagen, destroying the castle and bringing away a great bell which, ever since, has hung in the tower of the Church of St. James in Lübeck.



OVER A DOOR IN LÜBECK

Stralsund was a thriving Baltic town, built by King Waldemar of Denmark and growing in importance. The senate of Lübeck decided that this new rival was taking too much trade and putting on airs (*stolziren*), so the fleet was

ordered, on its way home from Copenhagen, to attack Stralsund. This was done, though the two cities were at peace, and Stralsund had apparently no warning and no reason to expect an attack. The surprise seems to have been complete. The Lübeckers plundered the warehouses and the dwellings of the richer inhabitants, set fire to the city—which was almost entirely destroyed—and then sailed peacefully homeward, carrying a number of the leading people of Stralsund with them for ransom.

Not long after this Lübeck suffered from a very destructive fire; but so much wealth had been brought back from Copenhagen and Stralsund that the city, which had been built chiefly of wood, was now rebuilt of brick and stone.

CHAPTER IV

BEGINNING OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

DURING the thirteenth century Lübeck grew not only to be the chief commercial city of the Baltic, but also to be one of the leading cities of Germany. We are told that, treasured in the archives of the city, there are still to be found treaties and charters, granting privileges or confirming them, signed by kings of England, Scotland and France, counts of Holland, bishops of Utrecht, lords of the Amstel, dukes of Lorraine and Brabant, and counts of Cleves and Flanders, all dating from this century.

Thanks to the energy and enterprise of the commercial cities—chiefly of Bremen and Lübeck—the southern coasts of the Baltic had become largely German.

The Teutonic Knights and the Knights of the Sword had exchanged Palestine for Slavonia, and there waged ceaseless war against Slavs and heathenism.

Flourishing new towns had grown up, with their population of Slavs and Wends, largely mingled with German colonists, and these towns claimed their share of the trade of the Baltic—claims which Lübeck admitted with reluctance, as we have seen in the unhappy Stralsund incident.

Rostock and Wismar in Mecklenburg, Greifswald, Stettin, Anklam, Stargaard, and Kolbergen—all were largely the children, though in some way the rivals, of Lübeck, and they all usually worked with Lübeck in commercial matters as well as in the disputes and wars growing out of these matters. They adopted the Lübeck code of laws so far as their feudal lords would allow them to do so, and they recognized the same commercial customs. This community of interests and habits frequently resulted in informal alliances.

Thus in 1252 a treaty was made between Flanders and the city of Bruges on the one part, and the merchants of the Roman empire on the other, and the representatives of the latter were Hermann Hoyer of Lübeck and Jordan von Borstenberg of Hamburg. Although this was not called the Hansa, it has sometimes

been regarded as the beginning of that important League. The cities which were represented were Hamburg, Lübeck, Cologne, Dortmund, Soest, Münster, and the German merchants doing business in the island of Gothland.

In 1259 Lübeck, Rostock and Wismar joined together for the purpose of keeping the peace on sea and land, and invited the other Baltic towns to join them.



HOUSE IN GREIFSWALD

Again, in 1283, a much larger union was formed for the avowed purpose of keeping the peace. It was no doubt largely meant to awe and suppress the robber nobility, and it included Lübeck, Rostock, Wismar, Greifswald, Stralsund, Stettin, Denin and Anklam. It was formed by several of the neighbouring princes, and later Hamburg and Lüneburg were added. Although the avowed object of this confederacy was to make and keep peace, it was really the precursor, or the beginning, of the warlike Hanseatic League, since it made efforts to control and regulate trade in general and in particular to keep the whole Baltic trade in its own hands.

This Baltic trade had become very lucrative and important. The carrying trade on that sea was almost wholly in the hands of Germans, who tried to keep even Danes and Swedes from sharing in it. It had been timidly begun by a few daring traders feeling their way carefully along the coast from harbour to harbour, and it had now grown to great proportions. There was profitable trading with all of the new and growing towns, but the chief business was with Novgorod, where great fairs were held to which traders flocked from central Asia, India and China to meet those from the West who bought their wares and carried them by land over long, well-known, tedious and dangerous routes; or by sea to the island of Gothland, the property of Sweden, but a neutral spot, where merchants from Scandinavia and from all parts of northern Germany met those coming from Novgorod and the eastern Baltic on equal terms and under the same laws for all.

The city of Wisby grew up on the island, and as the trade increased she became one of the richest and most beautiful towns

of the time. Cities all over Germany had their benches on the Wisby exchange, their representatives on the board of aldermen, and their share in one or the other of the eighteen stately and beautiful Gothic churches which served not only as places of worship, but also as places for the safe deposit of articles of value, each church having its own spacious strong rooms in which merchants often deposited their valuables.

At the height of its prosperity Wisby must have been an ideal mediæval city, and even now, after lying in ruins for more than four hundred years, its high city walls with their numerous towers and the interesting remains of its churches and convents have a very stately and picturesque effect, lying as they do on the green slopes of the island close to the shining sea.

For nearly two centuries Wisby was the centre of Baltic trade



GATEWAY, WISMAR

and the seat of the courts of final appeal in commercial disputes. The necessity for banding together, in order that trade might be carried on with safety and success, taught the Germans, who came from every part of northern Germany, the lesson that in union there is strength, and was the seed from which grew the great and powerful Hanseatic League, and perhaps had some little to do, at long last, with producing the still greater and more powerful German empire of to-day.

As Lübeck grew rapidly in wealth and importance, she became jealous of the rich cosmopolitan city on the island, and envious of her prosperity. She began a series of intrigues to dethrone this queen of the Baltic and to usurp her place as head of the commercial world of the north, or at least of that part of it which traded with the Baltic provinces.

As the Master of the Teutonic Knights once wrote: "Lübeck had watered the lands on the southern coasts of the Baltic with the blood of her sons." She had done much of the pioneer work, and she meant to have the lion's share of the harvest. She had laboured steadily and effectively, in season and out of season, to Germanize and civilize the Slavic lands, and the Germans and Christians in those lands were loyal to Lübeck. They felt in those early times, as the citizens of Reval wrote in 1274, "we must hold together, like the two arms of a cross."

One great difficulty felt by traders then was the diversity of the laws, every town having its own code. That of Lübeck was one of the newest and best adapted to the times and to the needs of trade as then understood. Lübeck statesmen conceived the idea of simplifying the laws by uniting and agreeing upon one system, that system to be Lübeck's. One after the other the Baltic towns accepted this suggestion, and an effort was made to have Novgorod herself adopt it.

The court of appeal from all other courts, even from those of Novgorod, was at Wisby; but Lübeck succeeded in having the Novgorod appeals transferred to Lübeck. Against this transfer Wisby protested so energetically that Lübeck was obliged to yield, and the new law was withdrawn for a time. Lübeck, however, persisted in her efforts, and in 1293 a congress of merchants of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, meeting at Rostock, decided that in future all cases in which they were interested, in Novgorod or elsewhere, should be tried by the laws of Lübeck, and recognize the Lübeck court of appeal. Twenty-four towns out of twenty-six voted for this change.

Six years later the sea towns and Hamburg, Lüneburg and the cities of Westphalia resolved that no seal for the united mer-

chants should henceforth be used at Wisby. Instead, thereafter the towns—not the individual merchants, as heretofore—were to be represented, and thus the Hanseatic League began, with Lübeck as its actual, though not yet its officially recognized capital.

The German Hansa was a name which came afterwards—it is said to have been first given to the League in England—but the League itself was begun about the early part of the fourteenth century, and was the gradual result of the slowly gained experience of the German cities that, in spite of jealousies and conflicting interests, they could work together to their mutual advantage; and that, by so doing, they could protect the lives and property of their citizens, and sometimes the honour and prestige of their country, better than any emperor, filled with a desire to subdue Italy, had ever dreamed of doing.

In this way a great sea power grew up which owned and protected a commerce that was vast for those days, and which waged wars, both offensive and defensive, in its own name, and without reference to any emperor or overlord whatever, although continuing to recognize the rights of the overlords, and to be loyal, tax-paying subjects of them and of the emperor.

Supposing the English sea-port towns, the cinque ports and others, had banded together to rule the seas and protect their own commerce, to make war and treat for peace without reference to the Plantagenet kings, leaving them to fight their battles for French lands as they saw fit, and recognizing their sovereignty in all such matters as did not interfere with naval or maritime matters, or the policing of highways, or disciplining thieving nobles or the courts of law, we might then have had something similar to this German anomaly, though even then there would have been a difference, for Germany was never one united land like England.

However, the English ports did nothing of the sort. They permitted their kings to grind them down, and even to sell to the Germans and to Flemings the monopoly of manufacturing and transporting English-grown wool, which was carried in German ships to Flanders to be made into



WOOD-CARVING, FOURTEENTH-CENTURY

cloth, which was then brought back in German ships to be sold by German merchants in England. No English ships were permitted to trade in German ports, no English merchants

could settle in Germany for purposes of trade. Of course the Flemings and Germans had to pay a good price for their privileges; but the money they paid went to the king. Doubtless a good deal of it stuck to the hands of the courtiers who managed the transactions, but all the king got helped to pay for his wars in trying to capture France.

CHAPTER V

FOREIGN PROTECTORS

BURCHARD, bishop of Lübeck from 1270 to 1317, was never, during his long reign, on good terms with the city or the people. Fortunately he had no temporal power. He showed his anger by frequent excommunications. Three times he tried this weapon of the Church, which in those days was generally so terrible; but the citizens of Lübeck were able to defy their bishop's spleen. There were always monks to be found who were willing to christen, marry or bury them in their need, so they called Burchard the "mad bishop," and as a rule paid no attention to his raging.

In 1299, however, the people were roused to fury by some especially annoying prank of Burchard's, and the angry mob attacked and wrecked the bishop's palace and the adjoining cathedral, and then marched out to Koldendorf, the bishop's farm, where they burned the barns and ricks.

The bishop, who was always angry, now became furious, and called upon the Margrave of Brandenburg and the Duke of Lüneburg to help him. Those princes sent threatening letters to the senate. The margrave was satisfied with the explanation given, but the duke was not, and he used such strong language that the city thought it wise to build a new tower and otherwise strengthen the defences. In the war which ensued the bishop and his ducal ally were defeated. The bishop continued to be bishop seventeen years longer—dying at the age of 102—and he was an implacable enemy of Lübeck until his death.

During the last years of the thirteenth century the robber barons made themselves especially obnoxious, and one, Peter Müggel, was so notorious and did so much harm that the

city sent a large army against him which succeeded in hanging him and destroying his castle. After that robberies continued to be so frequent, and Jaeger, the city captain, was so often twitted with his inability to stop the lawlessness, that it is said he went out unexpectedly one night, taking with him a monk and a headsman with a small band of soldiers. He rode, one after another, to the castles of various neighbouring nobles, well-known highway thieves, and at each castle knocked and asked to see the owner on business of the greatest importance. As soon as the knight appeared, curious to know what important affair brought the city leader to him at that time of night, Jaeger asked him to step aside with him, and then told him that his last hour had come. In spite of all protests, the monk then shrived him and the executioner cut off his head, which was placed in a sack. This was successfully accomplished five times, and then Captain Jaeger rode home and went at once to the council house, where the senate was in session at eight o'clock in the morning—they kept early hours in those days. He emptied his bag of its ghastly contents before the astonished senators, and said he was prepared to swear that no one of those gentlemen should ever again rob an honest citizen.

The senators were well enough pleased at the energy shown by their captain; but some of the surviving relatives of the victims made so much noise about the matter that Jaeger resigned his post and entered the imperial service, in which he had a distinguished career.

Jaeger's successor, Colonel Lindau, was neither so bold nor so successful. When sent out at the head of an allied force of citizens and Mecklenburgers he was betrayed by a guide, who led him to a place where he was to camp for the night. When Lindau and his men had dismounted and unsaddled their horses they were surprised by the robbers, who had been lying in ambush, and suddenly attacked them, killing Lindau, his brother, and one hundred and twenty picked men.

One of the most successful efforts to suppress the robbers was made in 1349, when troops from Lübeck under Hartig von Ritzerau, a soldier of great energy and quickness, attacked Bernstorp, a castle of the von Zuhlsens, and killed thirteen robbers. Between Whitsunday and St John's Day he surprised and captured a well-known stronghold called Steinhorst and eight other robber castles. Then, after four days' battering with heavy guns, Castle Culpin surrendered, after which he took Gudrow and Reburg; and with only twenty men sur-

prised and took Ritzerau, the castle from which he took his name.

In September he was again afield, and with fifteen hundred men besieged Castle Linau, the great stronghold of the von Scharfenbergs, which, after three weeks, he stormed successfully, and destroyed after hanging the garrison.

The surviving robbers of the district were so frightened that they fled to Mecklenburg, where the duke protected them. When remonstrated with by his citizen allies he refused to pay any attention, but took the fugitives into his service. Lübeck's reply to this was to send Hartig von Ritzerau suddenly into the ducal territory, where he destroyed four robber castles with their inmates. For a number of years after that the roads near Lübeck were the safest in Germany.

During the first part of the fourteenth century great progress was made in the city. The dwelling-houses of the richer men became handsomer, and several of the great brick churches were built. The Marien Kirche, or Church of Our Lady, the special pride of the citizens, was completed in 1310, and St. Giles's, St. James's and St. Peter's, St. Clement's and St. John's, as well as the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, were probably all built before 1350. Most of these churches had existed for some time, but were now rebuilt of more substantial materials, and more or less in the forms in which they now exist.

There were two schools, one at the cathedral and the other at St. James's. This is worthy of note, as the pupils must have been children of middle-class citizens, as those of the upper class were educated by private tutors at home. The nobles of the period, as a rule, did not read or write; but in the cities there must have been a considerable amount of education.

The city authorities were not only constantly warring with the neighbouring nobles, they were also ever on their guard against any possible infringements or encroachments by the Church, always the enemy of popular advancement. Every step made toward the improvement or elevation of the people was met by steady and violent opposition from nobles and clergy, and every step gained had to be jealously defended, as priests and barons were constantly trying to steal back privileges they had sold to the people. Very early in its history the senate of Lübeck found it necessary to enact laws forbidding the transfer of any property belonging to the city to the Church, and denying the bishop all representation in the municipal councils. The city was wholly free from all feudal service to

the Church, and by great and constant vigilance succeeded in remaining so, though frequent efforts were made by the bishops to gain a foothold.

There were, as we have seen, two schools in the city; but only one was connected with the cathedral. The other was not under the bishop's authority, though doubtless the teachers were priests or monks, so the bishop did his best to suppress it, and to deprive the senate of the right to establish schools, as it had done this one at St. James's. He appealed to the pope, and the struggle went on all through the fourteenth century. It was not until 1425, when there were already six schools in Lübeck, that an arrangement was come to by which the two Church schools which then existed were alone permitted to teach Latin, the four city schools agreeing henceforth to teach "reading, writing, and the mother tongue," a decision which was very unsatisfactory to the Church.

Outside the walls of the towns fist law was the only law recognized throughout Northern Germany. The nobles were still almost wholly without culture or integrity, utterly unlettered and notoriously boorish even in an age when there was little refinement anywhere, in Northern Europe at any rate. A rich and flourishing city like Lübeck was a tempting prize which many coveted. The Margrave of Brandenburg succeeded in getting appointed protector of Lübeck by the emperor, with the right to collect the imperial taxes. He first received these taxes in 1304. When he died in 1307 his son, who succeeded him, applied for and received the appointment, and it was not long before the Brandenburg family claimed the protectorship as an hereditary right—a view which the city was far from sharing.

At this time Denmark renewed her claim to that part of Germany which lies north-east of the Elbe. This claim was weakly admitted by the Emperor Albert, who, however, reserved the free city of Lübeck, much to the indignation of the Danes. The counts of Holstein then made repeated attempts to take possession of the city. The princes of Mecklenburg did the same, and the margraves of Brandenburg claimed her as their own. Lübeck, unable to stand alone against so many powerful claimants, and especially resenting the Brandenburg claims, selected the King of Denmark as protector—the post demanded by Brandenburg—that king having aided her in her desperate struggle with Holstein and Mecklenburg.

The offer was made to last for ten years, the city paying the

king a large yearly tax, and the king undertaking to protect the city on land and her trade on both seas.

This arrangement lasted a very short time, as it was ended by the war which broke out between Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Lübeck managed to keep out of that war, as she also kept clear of the war which, in 1311, raged between Denmark, Mecklenburg and Brandenburg on the one side and the cities of Stralsund, Wismar, Greifswald and Rostock on the other.

Alliances rarely lasted long in those days, and in 1314 Brandenburg and Stralsund united in a short, successful war against Denmark. Then Brandenburg fought against Mecklenburg and lost the land of Stargaard and the town of New Brandenburg.

Lübeck took no part in these wars of her two ex-protectors. When King Eric Menved died Denmark fell into a state of political chaos, and Lübeck quietly dropped the Danish protection, which had served its purpose of showing Brandenburg that he was not hereditary protector of the city.

The Margrave of Brandenburg died, leaving no son, and the emperor, Ludwig the Bavarian, gave the mark to his own son; but appointed the Count of Henneberg protector of Lübeck. All of the neighbouring princes claimed parts of Brandenburg, and Lübeck's diplomacy was tried to the uttermost to avoid being included in the general partition. However, she not only succeeded in preserving her own independence, but she purchased from Holstein the town of Travemünde, thus becoming absolute owner of her own access to the sea.

In 1333 a treaty for mutual protection was made between Hamburg, Lüneburg, Lübeck, Holstein and Lauenburg. And in 1338, when many princes and rulers had gathered in Lübeck for the Christmas festivities, a treaty was signed by the dukes of Lauenburg, Schleswig and Pomerania, the counts of Holstein and Schwerin, the princes of Werle and Mecklenburg, and the cities of Hamburg, Lübeck, Wismar and Rostock to keep the peace and protect from robbers all that land lying between the Danish border and the river Oder; and a somewhat similar combination was formed the following year for the purpose of putting down Danish piracy.

It will be seen by all this in what a chaotic state Germany was during the reign of Ludwig the Bavarian, at any rate during his Italian enterprises, his conflict with the pope, and his various disputes with the princes of the empire. Yet

Lübeck, which was nearly always loyal to the emperor, managed to get some profit out of her loyalty, though, so far as North Germany was concerned, the emperor was but a shadow. She obtained from him the right to coin gold guldens, "to be of the same weight as the guldens of Florence."

When the Count of Henneberg died the emperor appointed the Margrave of Brandenburg protector, and that prince visited Lübeck in 1340, bringing with him Prince Waldemar of Denmark, a fugitive and an exile. The Duke of Schleswig and Count of Holstein also arrived, and the four princes agreed to place Waldemar on the Danish throne. The Danish nobles, weary of anarchy, submitted, and Waldemar was proclaimed king at Wiborg.

As reward for his share in this enterprise the Count of Holstein claimed a large part of Danish territory, a claim which Denmark resisted, and almost as soon as he had mounted the throne the new king found himself at war with one of his allies.

Lübeck and the Count of Plön sided with the king. The latter was an offshoot of the reigning family of Holstein; but most of the Holstein nobility sided with their sovereign, as did the King of Sweden, who had taken possession of the valuable peninsula of Schonen during Denmark's chaotic period, and meant to keep it. Hamburg and Lübeck had a special league against the nobles of Holstein, who were practically all either pirates or highwaymen.

In 1343 Holstein abandoned her claim to parts of Denmark and made peace with the king, but continued her warfare with the cities in a desultory way for several years.

In 1359 Lübeck bought from the Duke of Lauenburg the little city of Mölln and used it as headquarters for the troops who were policing the roads to the south. It remained in her hands until 1683.

King Waldemar brought order into Denmark and strengthened his kingdom. He had to leave Schonen in Sweden's hands. Schleswig was now an independent duchy; the island of Rügen had become part of Pomerania; and he had sold Esthonia for ready money to the Teutonic Knights, but he was recognized as sovereign in Jutland and in all the Danish islands. When the new emperor, Charles IV., was elected, Waldemar, who had some influence with him, persuaded him not to remove the margrave from Brandenburg, as he had thought of doing, and in acknowledgment of this good turn the margrave transferred the protectorate of Lübeck to Waldemar. The city, dreading a return

of Danish rule, petitioned the emperor at Prague, and was assured that Germany never would part with Lübeck. Nevertheless the city had to accept Waldemar as protector and to pay taxes to him until 1360.

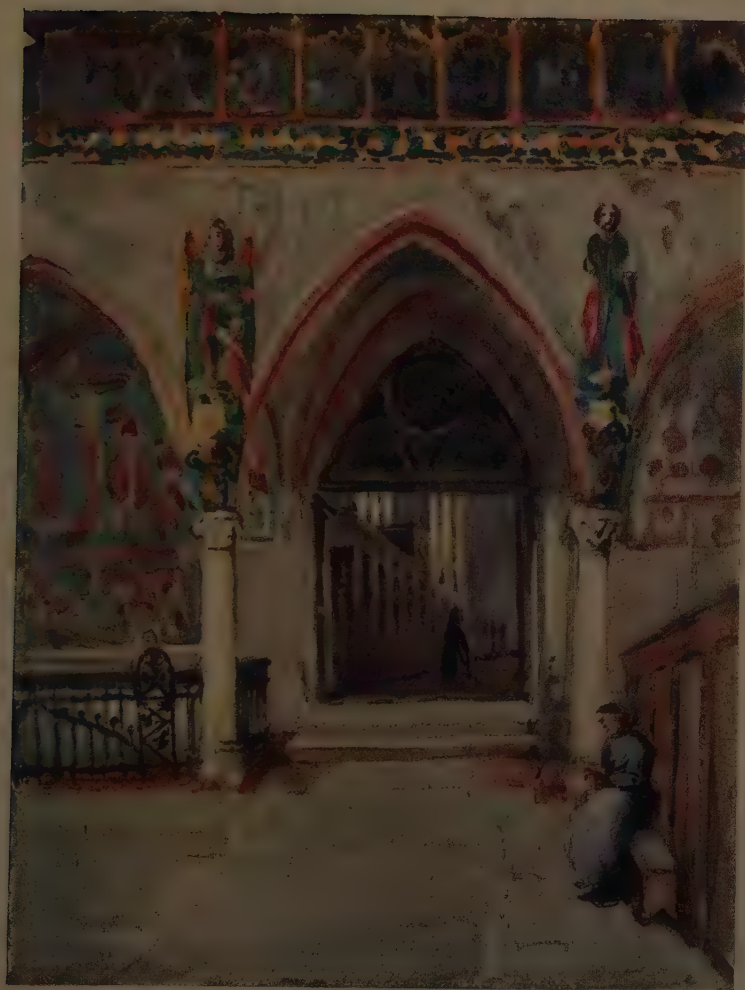


CHAPTER VI

A GERMAN WHITTINGTON

It was during the first part of this century that the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, one of the most striking and beautiful structures in the city, was built. With its curious and interesting chapel, and its quaint cubicles for one hundred and forty inmates, it is one of the chief attractions of the present city.

It was founded in the thirteenth century, but the old house was destroyed by the great fire of 1276 and remained in ruins for a number of years. The story of the rebuilding and re-endowing of this noble charity is one of the tales known to every child in Lübeck as Dick Whittington's history is known to London children. Marquart von Bardewick, a leading merchant and patrician, took in a poor orphan waif and saved him from begging or stealing by giving him employment as kitchen lad or scullion. The lad was handsome, honest and industrious, making himself generally useful, so that he was popular with every one. After a time his master, thinking him too good for the work, frequently urged him to emigrate, or go to sea; but the boy was so attached to his master's little daughter, six years younger than himself, that he found it difficult to tear himself away until he was eighteen years old.



INTERIOR, HEILIGE GEIST HOSPITAL, LÜBECK.

In the meantime, however, he had consulted a man who had come from the flourishing German colony of Riga, where he was in business, as to the best way to make a beginning, and the Rigan had given him some money and told him to get as much education with it as he could, as that, more than anything else, would help him to succeed.

Acting on this advice he had taken lessons, learning reading, writing, reckoning and such other things as his teachers knew. When he was thus equipped, he departed without telling any one where he was going, merely leaving a note to say that he had followed his master's advice and gone to sea.



HOSPICE OF THE HOLY GHOST

Arrived at Riga he was given a place in his friend's business, where he succeeded so well that when, after several years, that friend died he left him as sole heir to his considerable fortune and flourishing business.

More than ten years had passed and young Bertram was forgotten by most of those who had known him in Lübeck, when, one day, a handsome, bearded stranger arrived at Marquart von Bardewick's house and produced the bills of lading of a large and valuable cargo of goods which had been consigned by the successor of Jakob of Riga, who had already consigned a number of costly cargoes, so that the value of the property

belonging to this unknown successor, in the hands of Marquart, represented a large fortune. No one recognized the stranger, but as a wealthy customer he was invited to dine the next day, and as soon as he entered the room Marquart's daughter recognized the stranger and cried out, "That is our Bertram."

He explained how he had inherited the business and the fortune of his late employer, and had now transferred his possessions to Lübeck, where he intended to live. Marquart gladly took the rich and experienced young merchant into partnership and the business became the leading one in Lübeck.

Of course Bertram married Marquart's daughter. He gave largely to all the local charities and he built the great new hospital or home for old people, richly decorating the chapel with sculpture and painting brought from Flanders, and very liberally endowing the institution—so liberally that for more than five hundred years upwards of one hundred old people have been fed, lodged and clothed at the expense of Bertram Morneweg.

Tradition says that he also buried in the foundations of the building a sum of money sufficient to rebuild the hospital should it chance to be again destroyed, the secret of the hiding-place of the treasure being concealed in the corner stone.



TRIPTYCH, HOSPICE OF THE HOLY GHOST

CHAPTER VII

LÜBECK IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

THE chronicler tells us that the success of the war against robber castles in 1340 was largely due to the use of a very large and very powerful portable catapult, which proved to be of great service in battering down castle walls.

In 1349, a small army of flagellants came, flogging each

other until the blood came, and singing hymns or psalms as they marched through the land. With this sort of religion the saner citizens had little sympathy, and the senate refused to allow them to enter the city gates. The bishop, John IV., urged their admission—indeed, he had invited them to come—but the city fathers were firm, and when the bishop smuggled a few of the fanatics past the guard at the gates, they were promptly arrested and pilloried.

In 1350, the Black Death came to Lübeck, which had grown and prospered until she had between fifty and sixty thousand inhabitants, crowded and packed together inside a walled space which was far too small to hold them, so that the filth, lack of drainage and of all sanitary rules, common to all mediæval towns, were here intensified, and the pestilence found a hotbed for its deadly seeds. Nearly thirty thousand persons, fully fifty per cent. of the whole population, are said to have died during this year. Ordinary means of burial had, for a time, to be abandoned, and the senate ordered great pits to be dug as wholesale graves. As happened elsewhere, carts went through the streets all day and all night long, the men with them ringing bells and calling upon citizens to bring out their dead. When the people heard this, those of them who had dead brought them out, and they were placed in the gruesome carts, and, rich and poor alike, they were carried away to the great pits, near which some devoted monks stood chanting the burial service continuously, without ceasing.

On St. Lawrence's Day, 1350, twenty-five hundred died. In one day thirty-six monks in the castle convent died, and among the victims in the city were the bishop, most of the canons, and eleven senators.

Some time during this century, two leper hospitals were built, one outside the Castle Gate, the other outside the Mill Gate. In front of these the wretched lepers, clad in long, grey woollen gowns, sat showing their maimed limbs and stumps and ringing their warning bells.

Outside the various gates there were also great wooden chests, each having one side made of iron bars, through which could be seen the miserable occupants—lunatics—who were there confined, living upon such food as the benevolent passer-by might throw to them.

Within the walls the houses were closely crowded together. Those of the better class built of brick, tall, narrow, with picturesque gables, and more or less decorated façades.

The merchants and other well-to-do people lived in these houses, all of which had store-rooms or offices on the ground floor. Above were two or three storeys of small rooms, used as offices, bedrooms and sitting-rooms, and above these, again, in the high-peaked roofs, several storeys which were used as warehouses for merchandise. There were no large rooms, and all large entertainments, such as christenings, weddings, or other merry gatherings, were held in the public rooms of the various guilds or unions.

The poorer classes lived in small booths, or huts, built of wood or plaster, and huddled together in the narrower alleys and small passages which are still a noticeable feature of Lübeck. So limited was the space within the walls of the city, that even the courtyards of the larger houses were crowded with these small dwellings of the poor.

At first, when the lines were easily drawn between the rich merchants and patricians and the poor handworkers, this sort of thing sufficed; but as Lübeck prospered, these artisans and small traders became richer and more demanding. The tradesman was no longer satisfied with a wretched booth in which to display the goods he had for sale, and where he and his family must find shelter by night. They asked for more of the comforts and pleasures of domestic life; and even for a share in the government of the city which had so long been entirely in the hands of the upper classes. Those upper classes were also restless and envious of the privileges of the nobles who looked down upon them because they earned their own livings, and on whom they looked down, knowing themselves to be more cultivated, better educated, and with minds broadened by travel and by constant association with their equals in experience and culture. Many of them also had those bourgeois virtues, truth and honesty, which were usually despised or unknown among the neighbouring nobles.

As each individual found himself hampered on all sides by opposition, against which he was individually powerless, he began to find that the only way he could gain the ends he had in view was by joining with others who had similar aspirations, so that their united strength might be utilized in accomplishing their purpose.

Unions of all kinds were the result. The rich merchants who traded to Schonen formed a guild called Schonenfahrer—or voyagers to Schonen—who made common cause against the Danish and Swedish governments and the merchants from other

cities who traded with Schonen. Those who traded with Bergen, Riga, Novgorod, etc., formed similar guilds. The members of the older and richer families, in order to fight against the intrusion of aspiring fellow-citizens, formed brotherhoods, such as that known as the Zirkel—or circle—which almost became recognized orders of nobility. Those merchants who were not of the most exclusive social grade, organized the powerful Kauffmanns Guild, a sort of combination of a club and a chamber of commerce. And every trade and handicraft in the town was soon organized into guilds or unions, each working for its own advancement, and often joining together to obtain some common end, and all striving for special, much-prized—often entirely useless—privileges, some of which still survive, giving a mediæval character to many of the festal occasions in old German cities. No doubt the prominence of the butchers of Berlin in the recent wedding festivities of the Crown Prince of Germany was the result of one of those privileges which the guild of butchers obtained centuries ago.

Foreign merchants or clerks whose business brought them to Lübeck for a prolonged stay, all lived in the same part of the town—probably compelled to do so by some city ordinance. Thus, for instance, the English, who were not allowed to send their ships to trade in the Baltic as long as the Hansa could prevent them, had quarters in the Engelswisch and Engelsgrube, where they may have brought English goods overland from their ships at Hamburg at such times as they were allowed to trade with Germany. There were times when the League was powerful enough to insist upon all trade with German ports being carried on by German ships. The merchants of the inland German towns also had their settlements in Lübeck, where some of them obtained rights of owning ships and warehouses.

All the trades were kept separate. All the saddlers in one section of the town; all the smiths in another, and so on. The bakers appear to have had their houses licensed, and there are still to be seen some old houses where the baking of bread has gone on for centuries.¹

In the year 1358, the old council house was burned down and the new one which was then built still stands, being the northern portion of the present council house.

¹ Thus it is said that No. 113 Königstrasse has been a bakery since 1295, and No. 89 in the same street has pursued that business since 1322. In the Lange Lohberg most of the houses have been occupied by dyers since the fourteenth century.

All the busy life of the town centred there around the council house, the Marien Kirche and the market-place, where the booths of various trades were huddled together until all the space was occupied, and they overflowed and lined adjacent streets. The merchants of all kinds met together close by. Festivals of every sort, public or private, were held in public guild-rooms, and the extravagance, resulting from every one trying to surpass his neighbour, became so great that the fatherly senate passed laws limiting the number of guests to be invited to a wedding feast to one hundred and sixty, and the courses to four; with the privilege of having a small party of sixteen the next day.

This kind of paternal legislation was common in Germany. The senate of Bremen went so far as to regulate what was to be eaten and what was to be worn by the people, who were divided by law into four classes. So minute were the details that it was decreed that trumpeters might precede first-class wedding processions, but might only stand in front of the house and blow at second-class weddings. In no wedding might a girl of less than eight years of age take part as bridesmaid. Girdles of gold were allowed to brides of the first and second classes; but prohibited to all other brides; but the value of such golden girdles was strictly limited, as was the value of each trousseau. Directions were also published as to the number of joints of meat and the kind of drink allowed at the feasts of the different classes.

In those days the ordinary clothing of the people was simple enough, but the senators wore gorgeous robes, fine furs and jewels and gold chains, whilst the upper-class ladies had splendid gowns for great occasions. There also began to be a growing amount of luxury in the private dwellings. Pictures, carvings and metal work of a decorative kind, and tapestries were brought from Flanders, and though at first all this was given to the churches, there was beginning to be a taste for adorning the dwellings, and some of the more progressive people had portraits painted by Dutch artists.

Till Eulenspiegel—or Tyl Owl-glass—the famous comedian, practical joker, fool, or farceur, who travelled all over northern Europe, making fun for a living, belonged to the fourteenth century, and was often in Lübeck. He died in Lübeck's dependency, Mölln, and was buried in the churchyard there. His grave is still pointed out with its quaint low-German epitaph—

"Anno 1350 in disse Stein upgehaven
Till Ulenspegel liegt hier uprech begraven."

Tradition says he was buried in a standing position.

When Magnus became king of Norway and Sweden in 1331, he found the Germans at Bergen and Schonen quarrelling among themselves, and he promptly made use of the fact as a reason for withdrawing many of their privileges. For a number of years the Hanseatic diplomatists laboured to have these privileges restored and, at last, Thiedemar Güstrow, burgomaster of Lübeck, so ingratiated himself with the king as to get most of the lost privileges restored in 1343.

There was also trouble between Russians and Germans at Novgorod, and Johann Perseval of Lübeck was sent as ambassador, with a colleague from Wisby, in 1361, to settle all disputes. This they did in a way most satisfactory to the Germans. One important clause of the new treaty which was signed was that the merchants of Novgorod were to make no changes in the laws without first submitting them to the cities of Lübeck, Wisby, Dorpat, Riga and Reval, and obtaining their consent.

In 1336, there was a gathering of German merchants in Bruges, which decided that for the better control of their trade, and for settling disputes among themselves the Germans should thenceforth be divided into three parts, viz. those from the Wendish and Saxon towns; those from Westphalian and Prussian towns, and those from Gothland, Lievland and Sweden. Each division was to elect two aldermen yearly to represent it at Bruges. This was agreed to by a congress of representatives from Lübeck, Hamburg, Soest, Stralsund, Dortmund, Thorn, Elbing, Wisby and several others.

In January 1358, the first Hanseatic congress—or Hansatag—was held in Lübeck. In consequence of representations and complaints received from all the Hanseatic aldermen at Bruges, the congress issued an edict forbidding all merchants and citizens of towns connected with the German Hansa to visit Flanders or to buy Flemish goods. In August of the same year, at another Hansatag in Lübeck, Bremen was restored to her place in the League from which she had been expelled.

CHAPTER VIII

WALDEMAR IV. OF DENMARK

DENMARK, owning the islands and the mainland on both sides of the two entrances to the Kattegat, controlled the Baltic trade and the great herring fisheries off the coasts which were a source of vast wealth. The fishers were at first only Danes; but Germans came to buy the fish, and in time Falsterbö and Skanör, in Schonen, became not only great fish markets, but also the ports at which east and west met to exchange their wares, and thus they grew into great importance.

After the murder of Gerhard the Great of Holstein, the Danish kingdom, whose weak sovereign had been upheld by Gerhard, fell to pieces: Sweden took the peninsula of Schonen, with its trade, Schleswig declared its independence under its own duke. Rügen was taken by Mecklenburg, and little remained to the king but the islands, and they were in a state of chaos. The German towns had their settlements in Schonen, and derived great profit from the trade. Waldemar, the Danish pretender, took refuge in Germany, where, as we have seen, in 1340 he was taken up by the rulers of Brandenburg, Holstein, Schleswig and Mecklenburg, and placed on the Danish throne. An able, shrewd and unprincipled man, he first mastered the turbulent Danish nobles, then, turning on his allies who had made him, he defeated Holstein and compelled her to abandon her pretensions to parts of Danish territory, and then wrested Schleswig from her duke and restored her to Danish rule.

As Waldemar IV., known as Waldemar Attendag, he restored Denmark to her position of greatest power, and after twenty years he ruled over a united and powerful kingdom, selling his possessions on the mainland to the Teutonic Knights, but retaking Schonen from Sweden.

The cities were at first gratified by Waldemar's success. They aided him to regain Schleswig and Jütland, and they were his allies in a war against Holstein and Sweden. But they began to see that they had made a mistake in aiding Denmark to become so powerful when, after the retaking of Schonen, they asked to have their old privileges restored or confirmed and were refused.

At that time there was a party desirous of uniting all Scandinavia under one ruler.

Hakon, son of King Magnus of Sweden, was heir to that kingdom, and was already king of Norway, besides being betrothed to Margaret, daughter and sole heiress of Waldemar of Denmark. However, when that monarch compelled Magnus to surrender Schonen, the Swedish nobles were indignant, and determined that Scandinavia should never be united under Waldemar or his daughter. They forced Magnus, who was a mere figure-head, to break off the engagement between his son and Waldemar's daughter Margaret, and at once to engage himself to Elizabeth, daughter of the late Gerhard the Great of Holstein.

Waldemar's answer to this insult was a terrible blow, not only to Sweden, but to the Hanseatic League, and, indeed, to the whole world.

The island of Gothland, lying in mid-Baltic, was a fertile and prosperous portion of the Swedish kingdom, although it was almost regarded as an international or neutral spot, since there was situated the great and splendid city of Wisby, one of the richest and most cosmopolitan cities in the world; the centre and, one might say, the metropolis of the Hanseatic League, although nominally Swedish. It was a beautiful city, with many fine Gothic churches and stately public buildings, and a population accustomed to all the luxury known to the northern peoples of that age. The city was surrounded by high, strong walls, and protected by forty stately towers.

Without warning, Waldemar pounced upon Gothland. The defenders of Wisby, for some unknown reason, instead of staying safely within their walls and waiting for the help that was sure to come, went out to meet the Danes and were exterminated. The defeat was hopelessly complete, and Wisby fell into the ruthless hands of the king—one of the richest booties that ever became the prey of a mediæval monarch.

The wealth of the place was very great. Not only were the inhabitants all well-to-do or rich, but the churches and their strong rooms were packed with valuable articles, gold, jewels and documents, belonging to merchants from all parts of Germany, who had used the churches as safe depositories. The warehouses, also, were crammed with goods. Nearly everything was taken and packed into Waldemar's ships, and when they were full the remainder was destroyed.

The heavily-laden vessels sailed away, but a terrible storm arose and wrecked nearly all the ships, and Waldemar, who hoped with his vast, ill-gotten wealth to be able to realize all his

ambitions, found himself poorer than when he started upon this treacherous expedition. It is said that, at times, passing sailors even now see a red glow on the waters which comes from a huge carbuncle stone, now at the bottom of the sea, but once the most sacred possession of the proud and unfortunate city of Wisby.

What was left of that city may still be seen. The ruins of more than two miles of encircling walls, with remnants of their forty towers, and the more or less fragmentary remains of eighteen churches, an ancient stone gibbet, and a cross of curious



GREIFSWALD

workmanship which marks the site of the battle, and was erected shortly afterwards.

Throughout the island are the ruins of ninety churches. Waldemar with one blow destroyed the prosperity of the island, which sank to ruin and disgrace, becoming for a time the lair of notorious pirates.

Four days after the fall of Wisby terrified fugitives brought the news to Greifswald, where a Hansatag was in session. A boycott of Denmark was at once declared. All trade with Danish merchants or Danish ports was forbidden, and within a month an alliance against King Waldemar had been arranged between Holstein, Schleswig, Norway, Sweden and the Hansa,

and a fleet of fifty-two ships, with more than four thousand men, was brought together. In the following April, at the urgent request of the Norwegians and Swedes, the Hanseatic fleet attacked Helsingborg, the fortress which defended the entrance to the Sound.

Although the northern kingdoms did not send the promised aid the siege was begun, and continued for three months. Nearly all the men were, little by little, withdrawn from the fleet to strengthen the investing army, when King Waldemar, who had



EXECUTION OF BURGOMASTER WITTEMBORG

kept well informed as to what was going on, suddenly appeared and attacked the fleet, which was lying at anchor and almost empty and deserted. He captured or destroyed almost every ship, as well as a number of German merchant vessels which had anchored in the vicinity in order to be under the protection of the fleet. This terrible blow was delivered in July 1362. The commander of the allied fleet, Johann Wittemborg, burgomaster of Lübeck, concluded an armistice, which was continued from time to time until a treaty of peace was signed in September 1365, at the castle of Wordingborg.

Long before that, however, the unfortunate and indiscreet burgomaster, Wittemborg, had been taken home to Lübeck

in irons, and after a tedious trial, condemned to death and beheaded in the market-place.

King Waldemar's lucky star was still in the ascendant. He captured the ship which was carrying the Princess Elizabeth of Holstein to be married in Norway. With this princess a prisoner in his hands, the Hanseatic fleet destroyed, and the dismayed cities seeking peace, he easily won the northern kingdoms over to his views, and King Hakon of Norway married Waldemar's eleven-years'-old daughter Margaret, in Copenhagen, April 1303.

Elated by his success, Waldemar began a series of oppressive measures against the Germans in Schonen and elsewhere. Excited to wrath by these actions, and more or less recovered from the panic into which they had been thrown by the disaster at Helsingborg, a Hansatag was called to meet at Cologne at Martinmas, 1367.

In 1364 the Swedish nobles, furious at the marriage of King Hakon to the Danish princess, had forced Hakon's father to abdicate, and had chosen, as king, Albert, Duke of Mecklenburg, who had married a sister of Magnus. Magnus and Hakon had resisted, but after being defeated in the battle of Enköping in 1365, when Magnus was taken prisoner, they were powerless.

As soon as Waldemar had concluded the peace of Wordingborg, 1365, he attacked the new king, Albert of Sweden, defeated him and compelled his father, the Duke of Mecklenburg, to make a humiliating treaty, ceding to Denmark: Halland, Bleking, Smaeland, West Gothland and the island of Gothland. As this cut Sweden off from the North Sea and connected Denmark with Norway, Albert refused to sign the treaty, and the war was renewed.

This was the state of affairs when the Hansatag met at Cologne. Lübeck at once took the lead and forced the congress to agree to her wishes. She was backed from the first by all the Wendish towns. Letters were sent to the emperor, the pope, the kings of England and Poland, and to a number of other rulers, complaining of Waldemar. The letter to the emperor—who, according to modern ideas, should be the person to make war for Germany if any one did—is characteristic. It says that the King of Denmark is striving to steal the free city of Lübeck from the empire; that the emperor, unfortunately, lives too far away to protect his weak and forlorn flock, and that, therefore, his approved humanity will not object to the cities, with God's help, doing something to protect themselves.

War was determined upon. The Baltic squadron was ordered

to be ready at the island of Hiddensee on April 9, and the North Sea fleet to be at Marstrand, April 2. An extra heavy tax was levied on all the members of the League to defray the expenses of this war.

Sweden, Schleswig, Mecklenburg, Holstein and the nobility of Jütland were now all in arms against Waldemar, who, finding his financial resources entirely exhausted, fled to Germany to seek the assistance of the emperor or of any of the German princes who might be willing to help him because of their hatred of the towns.



COUNCIL HOUSE, STRALSUND

The Hanseatic fleet attacked Copenhagen and took it, May 2, 1368, and then, sailing for Sweden, took half-a-dozen places on the Swedish main, and a number of islands which the Danes had annexed.

King Hakon of Norway had taken the part of his father-in-law, but the North Sea fleet from Holland and the Rhine so harried and plundered the Norwegian coast that he soon sued for peace.

The Holsteiners invaded Jütland. Helsingborg stood a long siege, ably defended by Vicko Moltke and a number of German nobles who sided with Waldemar out of hatred of the towns; but they, too, surrendered in September 1369. Waldemar's

visits to the courts of Europe were fruitless, and in May 1370, a treaty of peace was agreed to at Stralsund.

The able and successful leader in this war had been Bruno Warendorp, burgomaster of Lübeck, who died in Schonen before peace was declared. A bronze monument in the Marien Kirche in Lübeck commemorates his deeds and preserves his portrait.

This peace of Stralsund has been regarded as one of the chief triumphs of the Hanseatic League, because it brought to a successful end a war waged against the ablest, most resourceful, most powerful, most successful and most unscrupulous monarch that Scandinavia had produced. By this treaty the Hansa was given control of the Sound, and received all rents, tolls and taxes collected there, and, after Waldemar's death, no king was to ascend the Danish throne without the consent of the League.

Waldemar, who had been hoping to purchase allies and to attack the towns during the absence of their fleets and armies, was compelled to go to Stralsund and sign this treaty, which, however, he did not do until October 1371. He then went back to Denmark without affixing the great seal of the kingdom to the treaty, and began plotting again, but he died in October 1375.

CHAPTER IX

PIRACY

IN 1376 Waldemar's grandson, the five-years'-old son of the Queen of Norway, was chosen king, his mother acting as regent. He died in 1387 when not seventeen, and his mother became Queen of Denmark as well as of Norway. She was a woman of strong character, ambitious of uniting the three kingdoms under her sway. With this object in view she made war upon Albert, king of Sweden, claiming the crown as heiress of her husband, Hakon of Norway, son of the deposed King Magnus of Sweden.

The Swedish nobles sided with Albert, as did many German merchants; but they were defeated and Albert was captured at the battle of Falköping in 1389, and for seven years he was kept a close prisoner in the castle of Lindholm.

Stockholm, which was garrisoned by Germans whose cruelty at this time became notorious, was loyal to Albert, and was besieged for a long and weary period, during which many hardy

German adventurers became blockade-runners, risking capture and death in hope of enormous profit if a cargo of foodstuffs were successfully landed.

These blockade-runners were more or less banded together, often acting in concert, and they became known as the Victualing brethren. This went on for a long time, as the war did not come to an end until 1395, when the treaty of peace known as the Calmar Union, joining the three Scandinavian kingdoms under one sovereign, was signed.

The wild, perilous, blockade-running life pleased many of those who were engaged in it, and when the long war was over they took possession of the island of Gothland, where they made the ruined city of Wisby their headquarters, from whence they conducted a system of wholesale piracy. Their name had gradually become shortened to the "Vitalian brothers," and for years they ravaged the commerce of the Baltic, and, spreading to the North Sea, found allies in the robber nobles of Germany and Frisia, with safe quarters at Ritzebüttel and elsewhere, whence they preyed upon English, French, Dutch, German and Scandinavian ships, especially on the traffic to Bergen and along the coast between the Elbe, the Weser and the Rhine.

In 1398 the Teutonic Knights, under their grand master, Conrad von Jungingen, drove the brethren out of Gothland; but after that for years the Hanseatic League was compelled to protect German commerce by sending out expeditions, at frequent intervals, to fight these formidable pirates, who really ruled the seas.

The success of the Vitalian brothers during so many years spread their fame throughout the world, so that bold scoundrels flocked to join them. Two of the boldest, most cruel and most able whose names have come down to us were Klaus Stortebecher and Godeke Michelsen.

Stortebecher is said to have been a nobleman from Verden. He carried on the usual trade of highway robber until he was caught when paying a business visit to Hamburg, and though his life was spared his spurs and knightly mantle were stripped from him and he was banished. He fled to Ritzebüttel and joined the pirates, whose chief was Michelsen, who was also a scion of a noble family of Verden. The new pirate was an old friend of the chief, who welcomed him and before long shared the leadership with him. Their names were everywhere regarded with terror. The enormous physical strength of Stortebecher was the theme of many tales of horror, and the astonishing

celerity of motion from one place to another was Michelsen's distinguishing characteristic. Both were reputed to be invulnerable, because they wore next their skins relics of St. Vincent which they had stolen from a convent in Spain, for even so far did their depredations extend.

Stortebecher married the lovely daughter of the Frisian chieftain, Kuno Ten Broek, and she sailed everywhere with her husband, but exercised no gentle or mitigating influence on his actions. When ships were taken their cargoes were transferred and the ships were sunk, unless they were suitable for the pirate trade. The crews and passengers were made to walk the plank, unless they were important enough to be worth holding for ransom, or by their youth, strength and willingness, they showed a capacity to serve as recruits to the brotherhood. Like the majority of the nobles of their time, they were not only dishonest and cruel, but also ignorant and superstitious. These two men who made their living by robbery, by murder and by every sort of cruelty salved their consciences by presenting seven beautiful Flemish windows to the cathedral at Verden, perhaps as atonement for their seven deadly sins. They also endowed the city of Verden with funds to provide for a periodical distribution of bread to the poor.

In 1400 the Hanseatic fleet, commanded by Senator Albert Schreyer, attacked and defeated a pirate fleet off the Frisian coast, and then captured Emden, thus bringing Stortebecher's father-in-law to a realizing sense of his own iniquities. Later in the year there was another fight, in which eighty pirates were killed and thirty captured and taken to Hamburg, where they were hanged.

Only a year later pirates swarmed in the Weser, where a Hamburg fleet fought them and captured seventy-three of them, who were all hung.

After these reverses the two leaders seemed maddened, and their depredations were more constant and more terrible than ever. In 1402 a new expedition was sent out against them, and with it went a great ship (one of the largest and strongest known at that time) called the *Brindled Cow*, and it was commanded by one Simon von Utrecht, a Fleming, between whom and Stortebecher there was an ancient enmity. The Vitalian brothers were lying off Heligoland, waiting for a fleet of Hamburg merchantmen bound for England which should have come out of the Elbe, when instead the Hanseatic fleet appeared and attacked them. For three days the battle raged. The

Brindled Cow hurled herself against two of the pirate ships and sunk them, but she was twice raked by the cross fire of Stortebecher's flagship, the *Mad Dog*, and another of his fleet. At last the *Cow* was brought alongside the *Dog*, and Simon of Utrecht led the boarding party. A hand-to-hand fight took place on the *Mad Dog's* decks, which were already thickly strewn with slain, when the two leaders, who hated each other, met. A long struggle took place. When both swords were broken they clutched, and were wrestling in a life-and-death fight on the slippery deck when some of Simon's friends, who had finished their opponents, rushed up, and Stortebecher, in spite of his fabulous strength and the relics of St. Vincent, was overpowered and put in irons.

The result was a complete victory for the Hansa. Two or three ships escaped, but most of the fleet was captured or sunk. A great quantity of booty was found in the ships, and many pirates were killed; but the main thing was that the famous, invincible Stortebecher, with seventy principal men, were taken. It is said that he tried to buy his freedom, offering immense sums to the city of Hamburg, whither he had been taken; but his offences had been too rank, and he and his men were hanged.

The other chief, Godeke Michelsen, was still abroad, but he did not long survive. The victorious fleet sailed at once to search for him, and when he was found the *Brindled Cow* again did wonders. The pirate fleet was destroyed, and Godeke Michelsen and one Wigbold, a Master of Arts, who was said to be quite as cruel and clever as the other two leaders, were taken, with eighty others, and executed in Hamburg, and with them the notorious and evil Vitalian brothers came to an end.

Simon von Utrecht, who got most of the credit for this successful work, became one of Hamburg's popular heroes, famous in song and story. During his life he was made senator and honorary burgomaster, and when, in 1437, he died he was buried in St. Nicholas's Church, where his monument can still be seen.

These pirates were bold, daring and unscrupulous men of all conditions, coming from different parts of Germany, Scandinavia, Slavonia, Frisia and Flanders. Many of their leaders were noblemen, who preferred robbery by sea to robbery on land because it was often more profitable. The Frisian chieftains who patronized and encouraged them were almost of the royal caste, and one of the best known, conspicuous because of his rank, was the Duke Arnim von Wolgast, who went into free-booting as a profitable and exciting sport. He invested a good

part of his fortune in ships, and at one time had a great store of valuable plunder. He had the misfortune afterwards to lose all of his ships as well as his plunder, which was a great blow.

There is no doubt that other princes were often partners in piratical speculations, or were bribed not to see what was going on along their coasts. Their profits were sadly interfered with by the active warfare waged by the cities against piracy, and consequently they cordially hated the cities. To the princes and nobles of those times might was right, as long as theirs was the might, but it was very wrong when citizens possessed it. They saw no reason for respecting the so-called rights of the rest of mankind, unless the rest of mankind could defend them with sword and spear. An instance of this is shown in the Bergedorf incident.

The strong castle of Bergedorf was pawned to Lübeck for a long period of years by the Duke of Lauenburg, who needed cash. The city sent Otto von Ritzenau with a garrison to occupy the castle, and then paid the money for it to the duke. Shortly after, the duke, who was hunting in the neighbourhood, called at the castle with his retinue, and was hospitably welcomed by the castellan, who hurriedly prepared a banquet for his royal visitor. When the meal was over the astonished host found his guests were all armed, and that he and the castle were in the duke's hands. That prince graciously granted von Ritzenau his life and liberty, and sent him to Lübeck to tell the city that he had taken his own again. The unfortunate man went back to the city, told his tale, and offered to hand over his own castle, as being all he possessed, to atone for his error. The senate refused to punish him, because they said, as the duke was at peace with the city and had just sold the castle, and had not yet had time to spend the money he had received for it, Ritzenau could not possibly have anticipated such conduct, and had merely done his duty in showing hospitality to one whom he had every reason to regard as a friend. Nevertheless the poor man died of mortification soon after.

Duke Eric held the castle for more than twenty years, and, appropriately, made it headquarters for robber bands which kept the neighbourhood in terror until well on in the fifteenth century.

In 1400 Duke Varnim von Wolgast, whose piratical losses had nearly bankrupted him, tried to retrieve his fortunes by boldly daring no less a feat than the capture of the city of Lübeck herself, a deed which, had it been successful, would have well filled his empty pockets.

Without any preparatory declaration of war or hint of their intentions, he, with the Wendish Prince Balthazar, with 1,600 men made a sudden descent upon the city. A few miles from the gates they met a train of carts laden with wine, which proved so tempting that they stopped to carouse. One of the carters escaped and warned the city. The alarum was sounded, the gates were closed, and the citizens were called to arms. When the ducal troops, somewhat intoxicated, appeared they were driven off, and must have fared very badly if Duke Eric of Lauenburg, who was a kindred spirit, had not received them into his city of Ratzeburg as they fled before the incensed, pursuing citizens.

Not long after this a merchant of Lübeck on his way to Hamburg was attacked by highwaymen. He successfully defended himself and his goods and killed some of the thieves, one of whom proved to be Otto, brother of Duke Eric of Lauenburg.

But Lübeck had not merely her royal and noble enemies to fear. Like Bremen, she had foes within her gates. It was proved that at the time of his raid Duke Varnim had one of the secretaries of the senate in his pay; but before that there had been two serious conspiracies among the people, which had found eager helpers among the neighbouring nobility.



CANDLESTICK IN CATHEDRAL

CHAPTER X

POPULAR UNREST

DURING the latter half of the century Lübeck was recognized as the head or capital of the Hansa, though the congresses of

the League were frequently held elsewhere. A burgomaster of Lübeck went as Hanseatic ambassador to London, and succeeded in so ingratiating himself with Edward III. that he not only renewed all the former privileges of the Hansa in England, but he presented, through him, relics of St. Thomas of Canterbury to the city of Lübeck, who prized them highly, and stored them in the chapel of St. Gertrude without the walls, where they were long venerated.

Jakob Pletzow, who lived at this time, was one of Lübeck's greatest men—a statesman of the first rank in his day. He lived in the house now No. 2 St. Annenstrasse. In 1373,



NEAR THE CASTLE GATE

as representative of Lübeck at Novgorod, he successfully combated claims made by the few surviving inhabitants of Wisby that that city was still the head of the League; claims which, if they had been recognized, might have resulted in rebuilding and repopulating the fallen Gothic city. In 1375 he succeeded in inducing King Waldemar to affix the great seal of Denmark to the treaty of Stralsund, which until then he had steadily refused to do.

In 1376 he headed a deputation from the League to treat with Queen Margaret at Korsoer as to the Danish succession. In 1379 he again headed an embassy to London and to Bruges. In the latter city he found a state of civil war, and consequently hastened to London, where the English merchants had been righteously protesting against the privileges granted to the League, demanding for themselves the right to trade on equal terms at Schonen and Bergen, and to share in other privileges of the League. The Hanseatic ambassador claimed that all the English asked for was impossible, since such things had never been known, and were against nature. No foreigners could possibly be permitted to share the privileges of Schonen and Bergen, which had been created by the League. The English

urged parliament to annul the League's privileges in England, and Pletzow was for once obliged to return home unsuccessful from his mission. It was not until 1381 that the English chancellor reaffirmed the privileges of the League. Pletzow had doubtless been able to send back convincing arguments powerful enough to overcome all opposition.

At that time, though asking and obtaining many especial and valuable privileges and monopolies from foreign rulers, the Germans entirely declined to grant any to others. Apparently they paid in cash and not in kind for what they bought.

They passed laws by which none but German citizens of towns belonging to the League could enjoy the privileges and liberties of German cities and ports; while no foreigner from the west was permitted to visit Novgorod for trading purposes who was not German, and none but Germans and Scandinavians could trade at Schonen.

Jakob Pletzow died suddenly in 1381. The questions at issue with Bruges were not settled until, impatient at the delay, Lübeck ordered the removal of the representatives and the trade of the League from Bruges to Dort and the boycotting of Bruges in 1388—the same weapon that had been used thirty years before, and with the same result.

After two years Bruges sent ambassadors to the Hansatag meeting at Hamburg, begging pardon for offences committed in the past, paying a large indemnity,¹ and promising to behave well in the future. Thereupon the city and people of Bruges were formally readmitted to the privilege of trading with the Hansa. Burgomaster Westhoff of Lübeck, at the head of one hundred and fifty horsemen, conducted the Hanseatic aldermen with great pomp back to Bruges.

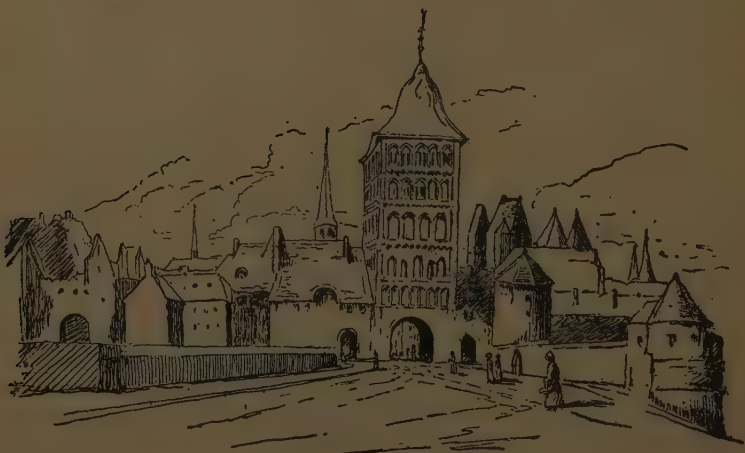
The Hanseatic League was a vast mediæval trust, formed as modern trusts have been to fight other trusts and powerful unions, but unlike modern trusts its shares and dividends were not purchasable in the open market by any one with money wishing to buy them.

In 1375 the Emperor Charles IV. came in state to visit Lübeck to try to get her influence in favour of several matters in which he was interested. He was the first emperor to visit the city since Frederick Barbarossa's time. He was received with great joy and ceremony. At the famous chapel of St. Gertrude without the walls the emperor, empress and accompanying courtiers

¹ 45,000 marks Lübeck.

dismounted and exchanged their travelling garments for gorgeous robes of state with crown and sceptre and orb. At the gates they were met by the civic procession, in front of which marched all the monks of different orders having quarters in the city, followed by all the nuns. Then came the bishop, dean and chapter, preceded by a great crucifix surrounded by a throng of acolytes and choristers bearing candles, swinging censers or chanting. After these came the burgomasters with all the senators and the leading patricians.

The emperor himself kissed the crucifix when he met it, and



CASTLE GATE

then received the keys of the city from the head burgomaster, to whom he returned them. Then the united processions marched through the city, the streets of which had been freshly strewn with bright yellow sand.

The marshal, with drummers and trumpeters, led the way. Then marched a senator with the keys of the city on a velvet cushion, followed by the Duke of Lüneburg with the sword of state. Then, under a splendid canopy carried by four city knights, rode the emperor crowned and mounted on a stately charger led by two burgomasters. The archbishop of Cologne followed, bearing the imperial orb, and after him rode the empress, also under a canopy, carried by four city knights, with two senators leading her palfrey. The Duke of Mecklenburg

marched next, followed by the margraves of Brandenburg, Meissen and Mähren, the counts of Ruppín and Holstein, a throng of ordinary nobles and the leading citizens all in brave attire, scarlet and furs and gold, or shining armour.

At the Burgthor the ladies of the city, wearing their finest gowns and most costly jewels, greeted the visitors.

Two of the best houses in the Johannesstrasse had been connected by a bridge and prepared for the imperial visitors. One of these houses is now a public house, where some remains of the original mansion were still to be seen in 1906.

The visitors stayed ten days, and every day there was feasting, every night an illumination and dancing. Tournaments, banquets and balls for the gentry, and horseplay and fooling for the people filled the time.

The emperor took part in a sitting of the senate, at which he addressed the senators as "gentlemen," and explained that it was no mere courtesy, because the members of the council of five cities in the empire, and of only five, were officially gentlemen, having a right to take part in the private councils of the emperor. And those five were Rome, Venice, Pisa, Florence and Lübeck—an explanation which filled the senators who heard it with joy and pride.

The same stately ceremonies marked the exit of the imperial cortège, when the visit was at an end. The emperor had not succeeded in carrying any of his points, for Lübeck, while very loyal, was very stubborn and had her own way in these days of her power, even when the emperor wanted another way.

But while Lübeck was so successful abroad, and so arrogant in her leadership of the Hansa and in her treatment of other cities and kings and emperors, she was fated to have much trouble at home.

The embassies to distant countries, the bribes of foreign potentates and courtiers, the wars, the imperial visit, all had cost much money, so that the taxes had to be increased more than once, and the laws were made and the taxes imposed by the senate, whose members were chosen from among the patricians by a very limited electorate. The tradespeople, artisans and labourers were unruly and indignant. They complained, and were met with haughty, even contemptuous refusals, to all their protests and petitions.

New and expensive cannon, the first owned by the city, were ordered from Bruges. A body of six hundred men was sent

to augment the Hanseatic forces in Denmark, and new taxes were imposed to meet these new expenses.

In 1380 many of the people, headed by the butchers' guild, held frequent meetings and demanded representation, fewer taxes and increased privileges. The chamber of commerce, or guild of merchants, tried to mediate, but both sides were obstinate. The people marched in armed mobs through the streets. The city stables were set on fire, and many valuable horses burned, causing heavy loss. Doors and windows were barricaded by timid citizens, who expected battle in the streets.

The senate secretly gathered five thousand well-armed men, hired soldiers, patricians and merchants, who took sudden possession of the better portions of the city. A few slight encounters took place, but the butchers and their adherents, seeing their party outnumbered, submitted and publicly recanted, begging pardon, which was granted, and so for a time there was peace.

In Bremen and other towns somewhat similar risings took place. In Brunswick there had been serious rioting, the houses of senators had been plundered and burned, many persons had been killed, and the aged burgomaster had been beheaded in the market-place.

Brunswick had been expelled from the League in consequence of this bad behaviour, and when the Hansatag sat in Lübeck in 1381 a curious spectacle was presented by the representatives from Brunswick marching through the streets from the cathedral to the council house clad in long woollen gowns, barefooted, and carrying candles in their hands, to beg pardon and plead for reinstatement.

Peace lasted in Lübeck until 1384, when a conspiracy which had been secretly forming for several years came to a head.

The chief conspirator was one Hinrich Paternostermacher, a worker in amber, and well to do. His simple plan was to surprise and kill as many of the senators and other patricians as possible, and take possession of the government, with a senate chosen by and from among the lower classes.

Paternostermacher had but few fellow-conspirators in the city, as he believed the lower classes, to a man, would gladly rise to his assistance when called upon; and that the fewer who knew of the plot the less danger there would be of premature discovery. Arnold von Soest, a tradesman, Johann Kalefeld and Hermann von Münden, bakers, and three butchers were his advisers. These simple men had taken several Holstein

noblemen into their plot, and of these the Barons Gottschalek and Detlev von Gutendorp, brothers, were leaders; they having engaged a large number of knights to be ready, when the signal should be given, to rush into the city, attack the patricians and loot their houses. No doubt they would have made short work of Herr Paternostermacher and his friends had the plot succeeded.

The secret was well kept. Everything was prepared without the slightest suspicion being aroused among the senators, although forty butchers had been taken into the conspiracy within the city walls, and the Gutendorps had gathered their followers together close outside. Numerous meetings had been held at the house of von Soest, on the Klingenberg, and also at Riesenbusch, without the walls. Keys for the city gates had been procured and given to the Gutendorps, and all the conspirators had been bound by a fearful oath not to tell the plot to any human being. It was agreed that the rising should take place on St. Lambert's Day, Saturday, September 17, 1384, at nine o'clock in the morning. The conspirators without the walls were to meet at a public-house near the old ferry. Soest's house in the Klingenberg in the city was to be set on fire as a signal, and when the people came running together, attracted by the fire, the Gutendorps were to enter the town from the other side, march to the council house where the senate would be in session, surprise and kill the senators, and then plunder the houses of the patricians, after which a new government could be formed.

The rest of the story has been quaintly told by a Lübeck writer: "God put it into the heart of one of the Holstein conspirators to repent, so he rode in haste, with his face covered, to the house of Johann Perseval the burgomaster, in the Königsstrasse, and asked for the burgomaster. Being told that he was at the council house he said: 'I could give him good council, and it is high time.' He then asked if none of Perseval's children was at home, and when the eldest son appeared, the stranger said: 'I would rather have spoken with thy father, but since I cannot have him instantly, I am content with thee. Since I have ridden in haste and have great thirst, I beg thee for a drink.' When the glass was brought, the rider raised it to his lips, and in a low voice said: 'I say to thee, glass, and not to any living human being, unless by wise council the matter be prevented and the great misfortune forcibly put an end to, to-morrow, when the clock strikes nine, the good

council of Lübeck and all of their relatives will be murdered. For the good town of Lübeck is full of traitors without speaking of those outside the walls, and all is now in readiness.' Hardly had he said this than he threw the glass over his head, turned his horse and galloped out of the nearest city gate. As he spurred his steed at Perseval's door his horse cast a shoe, which was afterwards picked up, and Colonel von Melle had it gilded and kept. Herr Perseval also had a memorial cut in stone



BAS-RELIEF ON THE PERSEVAL HOUSE

depicting a man on a horse with a glass in his hand, and that he had built into the front wall of his house.

"When young Perseval had heard the words of the stranger he made all haste to the council house and told his father what had happened. Then he had to tell the whole senate, and all were greatly terrified, as no one had suspected any such plot, nor knew who might be aware of it.

"Then it was agreed that half the senate should watch in person while all friends and relations were warned to sleep not

that night in case anything should occur, and in the evening all the city gates were secretly guarded.

"About midnight several of the senators who were on the watch rode along the Klingenberg, where lived the baker Johann Kalfeld in the old so-called Breitenstein. He was one of the four chief conspirators, and, hearing the horses' feet clatter on the stones, he thought it was Gutendorp, and got up and went to the open window, where by the moonlight he saw it was the senators with their following. Then he said aloud: 'S'blood! ¹ I have slept too long,' and a man standing under the window heard him, and repeated what he had heard, and as the senators were nervous and the words seemed to be mysterious, and the man who lived in the house was known to be a restless, discontented man, his doors were broken open and he was haled off to the question chamber, where, without being tortured, he confessed all. Then guards were sent in all stillness to Hinrich Paternostermacher's house in the Alfstrasse, where a noise of armed men was heard, for a portion of the conspirators was already assembled there ready armed, and all were seized and heavily chained. The guard in their rage flung Paternostermacher head over heels into the cellar of the thieves' prison, where he lay, neither would he eat, drink nor speak a word, ² and a few days later he was dead. Nevertheless his corpse was brought before the judges and condemned to be drawn and quartered, and each quarter fastened on a wheel.

"So most of the others were captured; only Soest disguised himself in a sheepskin and escaped, and also Gödeke Wittemborg, a butcher, and one Synninghe found means to escape.

"After a few days the captives were condemned, and there were so many beheadings and quarterings and breakings on the wheel that at last the judges declared that all who knew themselves to be guilty should leave the town before morning, and next day many were missing who had not been suspected." The wives and children of those who were executed were also banished for a time.

Gutendorp and his Holstein knights and gentlemen came at the appointed hour to the city gates, but finding them closed and guarded, took alarm and fled.

Every year after this St. Lambert's Day was kept as a day of fasting, repentance and prayer, the great organs in all the churches were played and pots shaped like human heads were

¹ S'heiliges Blut !

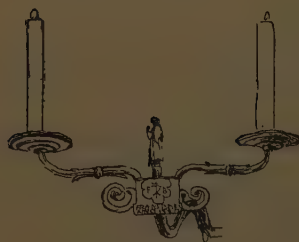
² A hunger strike.

made of clay and placed on the houses of the senators. Some of these were to be seen as recently as 1870.

The Gutendorps became a kind of land pirates, attacking caravans or individuals from Lübeck wherever and whenever they met them, and making it the business of their lives to look out for them and destroy them. If any other victims came in their way, well and good; they took what they had and thanked God for sending them; but the people and property of Lübeck were what they lived for. In carrying out this career they captured a great deal of property and destroyed many lives. They had a large body of retainers and carried on their depredations on so grand a scale that they may be said to have waged war. They burned numerous villages, destroyed wantonly whole fields of standing grain, and often extended their raids close to the gates of Lübeck. We have seen already how they entrapped and killed the city captain Lindau and a number of troops.

Their end was ignominious, as they were caught in the churchyard of Curan, one of the villages which they had pillaged; and the enraged villagers not only caught them but tore them to pieces.

After the failure of this conspiracy Lübeck concluded a treaty



IN THE CATHEDRAL



of peace with Duke Gerhard of Schleswig, the counts of Holstein, and Duke Eric of Lauenburg; and began negotiations with the latter for one of the most far-sighted and enterprising projects of the Middle Ages. Having secured comparative peace on land, the senate¹ con-

ceived the idea of digging a ship canal to connect the river Delmenau, which flows into the Elbe, with the little lake of Mölln, from which the river Stecknitz flows into the Trave.

The work was promptly begun and carried on until 1396, when it was nearly completed. In that year the Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg made strenuous efforts to destroy the work, so far as it was done, by sinking vessels heavily laden with

¹ Heinrich Westhoff, Jordan Pleskow and one of the illustrious Warendorp family were the chief instigators of the great scheme.

stones in the Delmenau. The duke's city of Lüneburg refused to assist in this attempt to destroy the canal, and the duke promptly besieged that city. Hamburg and Lübeck, equally interested in the completion of the canal, joined in sending an army, which after relieving Lüneburg, attacked and destroyed the duke's castles at Harburg and Winsen. The Delmenau was cleared of obstructions, and in 1397 the new waterway was formally opened. The obstreperous duke had sued for peace, paying for it by surrendering to the three cities the castles of Bleckade and Lüdershausen, which he had built with the express purpose of preying upon the commerce of the canal and the neighbouring highways.

With great jubilation Lübeck received the first fleet of thirty boats, laden with salt and lime, which arrived from Lüneburg through "the ditch," as the new canal was called.

CHAPTER XI

THE REVOLUTION

THE incapable and weak Emperor Wenzel allowed the princes and nobles of Germany to do very much what seemed good to them, and in consequence the cities found themselves, more than ever, compelled to defend themselves and protect the highways, as they had protected the new waterway.

The Church at this time was scarcely more powerful than the empire, devoting much of its energy to heretic baiting and most of its sympathy and support to the princely and noble scoundrels who were doing their best to retard progress and prevent Germany from taking her proper place among the more enlightened nations of the world.

We have seen how the Duke of Saxon Lauenburg sold the castle of Bergedorf to Lübeck and stole it again, and how the Duke of Lüneburg did his best to destroy one of the great engineering works of the age, and to prey upon the commerce passing through his dominions. The Dukes Albrecht of Mecklenburg and Balthazar von Wenden were of the same class. They attacked Lübeck, failing to take her by surprise, although they had reached the Burgthor before the alarmed citizens could

get together and drive them back. They claimed that the new canal had damaged their interests, and they meant to make the city pay for it. In their advance they ravaged the country through which they marched and destroyed the crops. In



HOLSTEIN GATE, LÜBECK

1402 Mecklenburg was bought off by a payment of six thousand marks, but Duke Varnim von Wolgast joined the Wendish duke and once more the enemy reached the city gates. Once more Jordan Pleskow drove them back with heavy loss.

At this time the senate decreed a kind of income tax to meet

the extraordinary expenses of the times; but it only realized seven thousand marks—not nearly enough, especially as the irrepressible Duke Balthazar was threatening a third attack, to prevent which the senate purchased, from the Duke of Stargaard, his castle of Sternberg, which to a certain extent commanded the enemy's route.

A new tax was decreed, of a shilling on every cask of beer. The citizens, greatly resenting this, demanded that the city accounts should be audited. To this unprecedented demand the senate submitted, but were at once met with a further demand that there should be representatives of all the guilds on all of the spending committees. Urged to moderation by Pleskow, the senate agreed to this demand also; but the citizens then demanded the privilege of voting, a demand which was flatly refused. The senate regarded itself as a sacred body and must continue to be chosen from and by the privileged first class.

Both sides were obstinate, and an attempt to arbitrate made by the Bishop of Lübeck failed, so that the situation became so acute that in 1408 the majority of the senate, led by the four burgomasters, Jordan Pleskow, Heinrich Westhoff, Goswin Klingenberg and Marquand von Dame, left the city, practically banished by the people, who at once elected a new senate.

There had been more or less friction between classes in most German cities, chiefly owing to the aspiration of the lower classes to a share in the government; and the determination of the privileged upper class to yield nothing and to consent to no diminution of its authority. Apparently the members of this class believed in their own divine right to rule as thoroughly as any Bourbon or Stuart.

The irony of the crisis in Lübeck was that at that moment the affairs of the city were in the hands of statesmen who were among the wisest in Europe, and who were as moderate, prudent and capable as any who ever took part in the government. If wise diplomacy and well digested experience could have saved the situation Jordan Pleskow and Heinrich Westhoff should have succeeded. There were no statesmen in northern Europe who surpassed them; but, led by ignorant demagogues and by petty tradesmen who seemed to be devoid of foresight, the people, whose original demands were just and whose aspirations were natural, were led to commit excesses and to occupy positions where they were always in the wrong.

When the special requirements of the state amounted to fifty-two thousand marks and the new tax produced but seven thousand marks the senate called a public meeting in St. Catherine's Church and explained the situation. A turbulent minority of those present refused to listen, but the moderate party succeeded in adjourning the meeting until the return of the fleet from Schonen, as many leading citizens were with the ships.

When the adjourned meeting took place, after long discussion, the agitators triumphed, and a resolution was passed declining to pay any further excise until the lower classes were absolved from their oaths and were placed, so far as votes and representation were concerned, on an equal footing with the upper class.

The senate resented this, but, by the advice of the leaders, yielded, and at the same time advised that thirty or forty citizens be chosen to meet the senate and, together, to concoct a plan by which the necessary money could be raised without pressing more heavily upon one class than upon another. This suggestion was scornfully rejected by the leaders of the people, who said they had no wish to share the privilege of the senate to devise methods of raising money—knowing that any new tax must be unpopular.

It was then that the senate proposed the tax on beer, the reply to which was an invitation from two brewers, Hulsey and Schimmelpfennig, to all members of guilds or unions to meet in the cathedral close. The meeting took place and was so worked up by fiery speeches that it appointed a committee, composed of the two conveners of the meeting and a third brewer named Schilling, to wait on the senate in the name of the assembled citizens, to inform them that they would submit to no further increase of taxation, nor would they accept this beer tax.

The senate replied that the credit of the city was at stake, and their debts must be paid if they hoped to continue in good repute.

Another public meeting was held which demanded a statement of accounts. Though this was an unheard-of requirement the senate complied and, for the first time, published the financial statistics, showing in detail how the money which was raised by taxation had been expended.

The next move of the citizens was the appointment of a committee of sixty, which evolved a paper containing a series of

charges and implications against the senate as a body and against each individual senator. This was received with dignity, and, although it was now evident that nothing would satisfy the extreme members of the opposition, the senate replied, explaining and defending its actions, and the individual senators did the same.

Failing in this attack, the committee of sixty changed its tactics and demanded that all foreign coins, that is, all but those coined in Lübeck, should be withdrawn from circulation. The senate replied that they would bring this request before the next Hansatag, but, for the present, the city was bound by treaty to admit the coins of other members of the League on an equality with their own. The sixty refused to accept this answer, and again the senate yielded, but warned the people that they were imperilling their city's reputation and their position in the League.

Early in 1406 twelve of the most irreconcilable members of the committee became panic-stricken and rushed tumultuously into the chamber where the senate was in session and accused the senators of plotting to hire strange troops to come to their aid from a distance, and of having turned the guns in the citadel and in the various mural forts so as to command the town. The presiding burgomaster handed them the keys and bade them go and look for themselves if it were so.

The next move was to present a paper containing one hundred demands, among which was one insisting that the people should have a share in every branch of public business: finance, war, suppression of piracy, police, etc. Also that all the privileges and special costumes of the upper class (*geschlechter*) should be abandoned. All rights of foreigners in Lübeck were to be withdrawn, and there were other similar demands.

The senate explained how this would damage them in the eyes of their friends and of the neighbouring cities. How it was the senators and not the citizens who had sworn fidelity to the emperor and received their commissions. They expressed their willingness to yield, in every way possible, to the wishes of the citizens, but the treaties with other states and cities and their duties as imperial commissioners they had no power to change.

For a short time this was grumblingly accepted; but fresh demands were soon made. Hitherto only a minority of the senate was elected by the people from among themselves—



MARY OF EGYPT, MUSEUM

one of the first privileges demanded and acquired by the present agitation. The people now claimed that all new senators should be chosen by ten electors, who were to be themselves elected by all the people. Six of the ten to be of the people and four to be existing senators, and that each senator should only serve for two years, a plan which would soon have shelved the patricians entirely and have filled the senate with popularly chosen members. Yet even to this radical change the senate gave a qualified assent, and it seems as if all might have gone well and Lübeck, thus early in the fifteenth century, have furnished an example of an almost purely democratic municipal government, had the people possessed a single leader of statesmanlike mind, honest desire for the welfare of the city and the people, or ordinary common sense. There was, however, no such leader. In January 1408 twelve plenipotentiaries were appointed to carefully examine into all the privileges and rights of the city and its inhabitants, and to report to the people. These commissioners took upon themselves to call a meeting at the council house, without notifying the senate, and that body, while in session, suddenly found themselves surrounded by a great throng of people who commanded them to come with them, and saw that the command was obeyed. Amidst the excitement the uproar was increased by the unexpected arrival of the bishop, dean and chapter in full canonicals, who endeavoured to make peace, but withdrew when they found that the mob demanded the immediate resignation of the whole senate and the election of a new senate by universal suffrage. The senators refused to comply, whereupon the meeting was riotously broken up by a mob composed of the dregs of the populace, which threatened the lives not only of the senators, but also of the members of the committee, who escaped with difficulty.

The tumult continued for nearly a week, the popular demand now being for universal suffrage, and the abolition of all taxes.

The merchants' guild or chamber of commerce had quarrelled with the senate and the patricians, and took no part in the agitation on either side, so the senate had none but their own small caste to fall back upon. If the merchants' guild had been loyal the extreme agitators might have been held in check and many valuable reforms accomplished, but that was not to be. The unions or tradesmen's and artisans' guilds had borne the brunt of the battle, but now found themselves following the lead of the irresponsible mob, which demanded the destruc-

tion of all government without suggesting any alternative; which claimed the right to riot and murder and denied the right of any one to order soldiers to interfere; which claimed the right to maltreat or even to kill those who did not agree with them, but denied the right of any one to coerce them.¹

The burgomasters and all the senators but six fled from the city. The six who remained were those who had been chosen under the new arrangement. These met the people in front of the cathedral and were asked if they would join with the populace in electing a new senate. They said no, and placing the seal and keys of the city and certain books and documents on the ground in a heap, they declared that those who thought they could govern better than the senate had done might take them. Two men named Rubow and Altstecker packed the precious articles in a basket, which they hid.

The committee of sixty and the people met day by day for the purpose of choosing a new senate, but, as the sixty wished only to choose members of their own committee and the people would not agree, no choice was made for a long time. At length two men who called themselves imperial notaries—Heinrich Pund, a reprieved murderer, and Niklaus Everhardi, who had been condemned to life-long imprisonment but had been pardoned after doing penance in the public pillory—selected two of the sixty to be senators, and those two chose two more, and so on until the whole number was complete. Everhardi administered the oath.

The new senators were brewers, bakers, butchers, labourers and small shopkeepers, and the new burgomaster was an unfrocked monk.

Meantime, the old senate had appeared before the Emperor Ruprecht, who summoned the city to send a representative to account for the recent proceedings, but until that should be done placed the new senate and the council of sixty under imperial ban. When the ambassadors sent by the new senate returned they did not mention this ban, and they spoke so hopefully that the new senate, much encouraged, promptly confiscated all the property of the banished senators and their friends.

The new senate had possession and kept it, despite the ban, especially after Pope John XXII. had declared the emperor's ban to be without authority.

¹ *Lübeckische Chronik.*

Then the new emperor, Sigismund, who succeeded Ruprecht in 1410, was a vacillating prince, always in want of money, and he weakly agreed to confirm the new senate temporarily for a loan of twenty thousand guldens, the confirmation to be withdrawn when the money was repaid. The old senate at once, through their ally King Eric of Denmark, offered to repay the money.

Hamburg had stood by the new senate in the councils of the Hansa, and had succeeded in preventing the expulsion of Lübeck from the League; but the aristocratic party in Hamburg regained the upper hand, and in 1416 the League threatened to expel its head if the new senate were not deposed and the old order restored. At the same time King Eric imprisoned four hundred Lübeckers at Schonen, and the emperor sent two commissioners, Procopius von Sedlitz and Jobst Rode, dean of Basle, to Lübeck to demand the reinstatement of the old senate. The revolution had come to an end. The people were tired of their new rulers. They found that they taxed them even more than their old masters had done, and that they did not govern nearly so well. The reaction was complete.

A heavy fine was exacted, all popular meetings were prohibited; the city was garrisoned by hired troops; the new senate was deposed, and two of its leaders, who had been guilty of great excesses, were beheaded. These martyrs were Heim Sobbe, a goldsmith, and Hermann Rubow, a baker. Fifteen others of the more prominent were banished.

On the other hand, King Eric released the four hundred prisoners at Schonen without ransom and a general amnesty was declared.

On June 16, those of the old senate who still lived solemnly re-entered Lübeck.

The procession was headed by the imperial commissioners. Each of the survivors of the old senate was escorted by one of the new senators, and a long procession of the exiled patricians followed. After solemn high mass in St. Mary's each of the old senators was conducted to his official seat in that church, and then to his place in the council house. For many years afterwards the anniversary of this event was kept as a holiday, and the patrician supremacy remained unquestioned.

CHAPTER XII

SCANDINAVIAN WARS

DURING the reign of the new senate Duke Erich IV. of Lauenburg, having already succeeded in cheating Lübeck of the stronghold of Bergedorf, surprised and captured the little city of Mölln, which he had sold to Lübeck. The new senate made war upon the duke, defeated his army at Ratzeburg and recaptured Mölln. Peace was made, the duke abandoning his alleged claim on Mölln, but receiving a salary of 300 marks a year on condition that he protected the highways between Hamburg and Lübeck, of which he had been, and continued to be, the greatest scourge. Setting a thief to catch a thief was unsuccessful. To meet the expenses of this war and others, the senate had been compelled to increase the taxation until it was higher than it had ever been.

When safely reinstated the old senate took some time to get the affairs of government running smoothly, and meantime the Duke of Lauenburg, instead of protecting the roads, allowed Bergedorf to be used as the lair of one of the most dangerous bands of thieves that ever infested the land. No one was safe on the road, as the thieves were so many and so well armed that they attacked heavily armed and guarded trains of wagons.

The impudence and boldness of these titled robbers became intolerable, and on July 10, 1420, Hamburg and Lübeck sent a joint army of 2000 foot, 800 hundred knights and powerful siege machinery and cannon, commanded by Jordan Pleskow of Lübeck and Heinrich Hoyer of Hamburg, against the marauders. The village of Bergedorf was easily destroyed, but the castle, one of the strongest in Germany, was defiant. Pleskow sent for quantities of pitch, tar, scraps of leather and other suitable material, which was piled to windward and set on fire. It made such a stifling and intolerable stench that the garrison was literally smoked out. They opened the gates and tried to escape: a fierce fight ensued, and the thieves got the worst of it. The castle and its estates were taken possession of by the two cities, who continued to be joint owners until our own times.

Two other castles of the notorious Duke Erich were battered down, and for a time the roads were securer than they had ever been.

A war against pirates followed, in which, as it was chiefly

conducted in western Frisia, the city of Bremen took the leading part.



MÖLLN

In 1427 began the great war between the Hanseatic League and Eric VII., ruler of all Scandinavia.

Before telling of this war it may be as well to give an idea of the meetings of the League. For ten years the position of

Lübeck had been a doubtful one. Her very membership had been at stake; but when the old senate was restored, with such dignified and experienced statesmen as Jordan Pleskow and Heinrich Rapesulver at their head, she at once resumed her place as recognized leader. At the congress of 1418, one of the most numerously attended, Lübeck is described as occupying the centre, or place of honour, with Cologne, Bremen, Rostock, Stralsund, Wismar, Dantzic, Brunswick, Gothland, Riga, Dorpat, Stettin, Anklam, Osnabrück, Stargaard, Stade, Stendal, Buxtehude and Saltzwedel on the right, and on the left Hamburg, Dortmund, Lüneburg, Greifswald, Münster, Kolberg, Nymwegen, Zütphen, Zwolle, Hardwyck, Elbarg, Magdeburg, Minden and Soest. The emperor, the grand master and the city of Bruges were represented by ambassadors, and the dukes of Schleswig and Mecklenburg were present in person. The session lasted six weeks. Every decree required to be adopted unanimously, but severe pressure was often brought to bear by large majorities to coerce weak minorities.

A high sense of commercial honesty characterized the merchants of the Hansa at this time, a fact which appears the more remarkable when contrasted with the complete absence of any feeling of honesty among the majority of German nobles of the period. A somewhat similar phenomenon is said to exist at present in China, where the merchants are noted for their probity and the nobles are, to say the least of it, not free from all semblance of guile.

Among the laws passed at this particular congress was one absolutely prohibiting the sale of fish before they were caught, corn before it was grown, or cloth before it was woven. It is evident from this that dealing in "futures" and wild commercial speculation were not unknown in those days, and the Hansa was determined to put a stop to that sort of gambling.

No merchant of the Hansa was allowed to enter into partnership with any non-member. The chief work of the League, however, was the protection of its own trade, in foreign lands, in the different German cities, and on the highways by land and sea. Apart from this the League was narrow and thoroughly mediæval in all its views. Unless compelled to do so by some hard-fought treaty, it never gave favour or even justice to any foreign merchant or mariner. All such were excluded from the Baltic when possible, and, indeed, were only allowed to trade in ports on the North Sea when it was impossible to prevent them.

All who were not members of the Hansa were absolutely



WAREHOUSES, LÜBECK.

prohibited from entering Novgorod, and heavy penalties were enforced against any one detected in trying to visit that great mart.

The rule which the League would gladly have enforced was : An open door everywhere for the Hansa and a closed door for all others. Thus they tried to get, and at times succeeded in getting, a monopoly of English, Norwegian and Russian carrying trade, to the great distress and detriment of the inhabitants of those countries.

This great, arrogant, honest, selfish, co-operative trust; this union of German commercial cities which ruled kingdoms, set up or pulled down sovereigns, financed the wars of England and France, and controlled the commerce of northern Europe with a despotism seldom equalled, had no officials, no seal and no flag.

At a period when there was practically no Germany, when all the German countries were so loosely joined together as to be quite incapable of any adequately great combined deeds, the Hansa, independently, and almost in spite of the powerless emperors and ignorant, rapacious and vicious princes and nobles, formed, and for a short time maintained, a great sea power—perhaps the greatest sea power of a time when Venice and Genoa were great—great commercially as well as from a military point of view. This power had fortified stations at Novgorod in Russia and at Bergen in Norway. It had a town of its own at Schonen in Danish territory, and it had stately, privileged headquarters in London, in Lynn and in Bruges.

Before 1426 the great soldier-statesman of Lübeck, Jordan Pleskow, was dead, and the Hansa, under less skilful guidance, treated the Scandinavians with great severity, making and enforcing trade laws which favoured the Germans at the expense of the native inhabitants, so that Norwegians at Bergen and Swedes and Danes at Schonen found themselves regarded as inferior to the Germans and oppressed by many restrictions which did not apply to members of the League.

Eric VII., great-nephew and immediate successor of Queen Margaret, who ruled all Scandinavia at this time, built a stronghold at Elsinore which commanded and controlled the Sound, and from thence he levied and collected so-called Sound duties on all passing ships. This was obnoxious to the Germans, as were the means taken by Eric to place his people on an equality with their high and mighty visitors.

Instead of handling the affair diplomatically, as Pleskow would have done, the Baltic cities allied themselves with Henry III. of Holstein and declared war on Scandinavia.

They did not strike at once, but delayed until 1427, when they sent out a fleet under several commanders, who quarrelled among themselves. They plundered and ravaged the unprotected islands of Aröe, Möen, Falster and Bornholm, and then attacked Flensburg, where, during a night attack, Henry III. of Holstein lost his life, which was the cause of the Hanseatic fleet abandoning the siege and sailing away, although Adolf, the successor to Henry, begged them to stay.

The results of this expensive expedition were some damage done to farmers and villagers, the death of the Count of Holstein, the torturing of the Hamburg leader, who was accused of treachery, and a bitter quarrel among the allies.

However, another expedition was sent out next year, led by two burgomasters, Hoyer of Hamburg and Tiedemann Stein of Lübeck. The principal object was to safely convoy a richly laden German fleet through the narrow seas. By strategy the enemy succeeded in dividing the Hanseatic fleet, and then attacked each of the two parts. Hoyer, seeing himself outnumbered and outgeneralled, managed, after a running fight, to escape with his damaged ships to Hamburg. Tiedemann Stein became frightened, lost his nerve and simply ran away. When the other ships in the fleet saw themselves abandoned by their cowardly leader they tried to follow him. The Danes pursued, capturing most of the ships one by one. Tiedemann Stein was overtaken and captured, and the thirty-six merchantmen with their valuable cargoes, which he ought to have protected, fell into the enemy's hands. The unfortunate burgomaster, after paying his own ransom, returned to Lübeck, where he was tried and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He was one of the few members of the new senate who had been permitted to retain his seat when the old senate was reinstated.

In the meantime King Eric's agents were busy stirring up trouble in the cities, exciting the lower classes to riot and rebellion, with more or less success. Thus in Wismar the patrician burgomaster, Bandschow, and one of the senators lost their lives in a riot. In Hamburg a patrician senator was beheaded by the people. The senate of Rostock only saved their lives by flight, and in Stralsund nearly all the senators were massacred. Feeling also ran high in Lübeck, but the long

struggle between the new senate and the old was too recent to be forgotten, and no overt acts took place.

In 1428 an enormous fleet was assembled and despatched. Two hundred and forty ships with 12,000 men formed the legitimate force, to which was added the notorious freebooter Bartel Bot with seven ships and 600 men.

Duke Gerhard of Schleswig was the military commander. They sailed to Copenhagen, and there, in spite of heavy cannonading from the Danish forts and fleet, they sunk a number of stone-laden hulks, intended to shut the Danish fleet into the harbour. After this the fleet divided. Some of the ships sailed for home. Duke Gerhard overran Jütland with fire and sword, burning and destroying many farms and villages and carrying off 3000 cattle. Bartel Bot, the pirate, surprised Bergen. Most of the inhabitants escaped with their most valued possessions, but he pillaged the town and captured a number of English fishing-boats which were in the harbour. He sold his booty and returned at once to Bergen, rightly surmising that the people would not be expecting another attack, and would have returned with the goods and treasures they had saved. Sailing up in the night, his attack was a complete surprise; yet some people escaped and roused the country, so that before long a large number of small ships and boats from along the coast gathered together and attacked the pirates. A battle ensued which was very fierce, as no quarter was shown by either side. Though most of the Norse boats were small there were many of them, and the Germans were being defeated when another pirate fleet sailed up quite unexpected by their associates, and the Norwegians who survived fled. Bergen was then completely destroyed with great barbarity, and this victorious ally of the Hansa carried his booty to Hamburg and publicly sold it there.

The Danish fleet had not been bottled up at Copenhagen, as the Germans believed. Indeed, it has been thought that their ally, the hero of Bergen, who assisted in sinking the hulks in the harbour, traitorously left a way out. At any rate, shortly after this, eighty Danish vessels entered the harbour of Stralsund and burned most of the ships at anchor there, doing much damage at the same time by firing at the city. The people shut themselves behind their walls and watched the Danes at their work of destruction.

Unexpectedly six Lübeck ships arrived, armed merchantmen, and the captain of one of them, whose name has only come down to us as Master Paul, enraged at what he saw, called

upon the others to follow him and attacked the Danish ships, most of the men from which were ashore, pillaging and burning there.

Seeing this unlooked-for aid, Burgomaster von der Lippe gathered a number of armed citizens, sallied from one of the gates, and succeeded in reaching and getting on board two or three Stralsund ships which had not yet been destroyed by the Danes. In these they joined the Lübeckers. The combined little fleet after a short fight captured the largest of the Danish ships, whose captain, Knut von Hagen, surrendered. Manning this, they added it to their fleet, and attacked and captured several other Danish ships, and the crews of the others fell a victim to panic and sailed away as fast as they could. The victorious Germans landed 300 armed prisoners, who were held for ransom, and the hero, Master Paul, went back to his merchandising.

As trade was practically killed by the war, the cities began to dispute among themselves, and Rostock and Stralsund withdrew from the alliance and made their separate peace with Denmark in 1430, while Lübeck, Hamburg, Wismar and Holstein continued the war. In 1431 a joint expedition against Flensburg was successful, owing to the treachery of the burgomaster of Flensburg, who surrendered the city, though the citadel held out for a long time. Whilst the allies were engaged in trying to reduce that stronghold many of their ships were captured by the Danes.

King Eric, who on the whole had had the best of the war, was now obliged to sue for peace, because of a rebellion in Sweden. Though known to the Germans as Eric VII., in Sweden he was called Eric XIII. His wife, an amiable lady, was Philippa, daughter of Henry IV. of England. She was also a lady of great courage, and during the siege of Copenhagen she stayed and encouraged the people and the troops at a time when her not very valiant husband went away and hid himself. When he came out of hiding he was so incensed at the success of the queen and her popularity that he ill-treated her to such a degree that she left him, retiring to a convent, where she soon died. After her death the king's cruelty, no longer softened by the queen's influence, increased to such an extent that the Swedes rebelled, led by the famous Engelbrecht, who has been described as "that small weak man with the great strong soul."

Peace was concluded in 1435, Denmark agreeing to revert to

the state of affairs existing before the war, and the allies agreeing to pay the town of Bergen a large sum of money, but receiving a monopoly of trade there.¹ To carry on this trade the Hansa established one of their largest and most important stations at Bergen. Holstein, the chief gainer, had its count recognized as hereditary duke of Schleswig.

Soon after this King Eric ceased to rule. He abdicated and then tried to resume the crown, but neither Denmark nor Sweden would permit him to do so; whereupon he retired to the island of Gothland with as much of the national wealth as he could lay his hands on, and there lived a life of debauchery, and maintained a fleet of pirate ships which preyed upon the commerce of the Baltic.

Eric's nephew, Christopher of Bavaria, succeeded him, and yielded to all the demands of the Hansa, which was then carrying on a desultory war with the Netherlands. Many ships were captured by both sides. All trade with Holland and Flanders was forbidden, and all Dutch ships when met with were captured.

On the other hand, the Dutch harassed the German trade with England, and captured, among others, twenty-three ships belonging to cities which were under the protection of the grand master, who had a treaty with Philip of Burgundy, and so a long wrangle began. An armistice of ten years, which was begun in 1440 and several times renewed, practically concluded this war.

King Christopher of Denmark died in 1448, and was succeeded by Christian of Oldenburg, who was friendly to the Hansa. Sweden, always jealous of Denmark, had for several years been ruled by a band of nobles who hated each other, and now proclaimed one of those nobles as king and seceded from the Scandinavian union. A long war ensued, in which King



CANDELABRUM, CATHEDRAL

¹ It was the great cod and haddock market.

Christian finally triumphed and the newly chosen King Carl was driven out, and he took refuge in Dantzic. That city about that time revolted from the heavy rule of the grand master (of the Teutonic Knights) and claimed the protection of Casimir of Poland. Urged by the emperor, Lübeck tried to mediate, but with no success.

CHAPTER XIII

THE GREATEST PERIOD

DURING this fifteenth century Lübeck reached the highest point of her greatness. She was not only the recognized head of the great League, but her senators, famed for their statecraft and political wisdom and fairness, were chosen as arbitrators or judges or mediators in many grave disputes, and more than once averted war by their advice. As we have just seen in the great struggle between the Teutonic Knights and Dantzic and her allies, the emperor begged Lübeck to intervene in 1454. Livland called for her intervention in 1455, and in 1456 the grand master himself made the same request, reminding the senators that their forefathers, or predecessors, had been among the founders of the order, and asserting that it rested with them to save it. Lübeck did her best, but in vain at that time, to bring about an understanding. Seven years later, however, the King of Poland called upon the city to try again, and in 1464 the chief burgomaster and the bishop, with a stately escort, proceeded to Poland, where a conference was held which resulted in the treaty of peace, which was signed at Thorn in 1466, which compelled the grand master to abandon West Prussia to Poland, and to give Dantzic her freedom. Thus closed a war which ended the long supremacy of the Teutonic order. During the long and bitter struggle eighteen thousand prosperous villages were destroyed and great tracts of land were depopulated. The knights had become both cruel and luxurious, and it was time to suppress them.

At this time the city of Lübeck was in direct treaty with the pope about North German affairs. She also sent a band of six hundred knights to assist the emperor to compel Charles the Bold to raise the siege of Neüss.

In 1439 King Christopher was crowned King of Denmark in

the Marien Kirche of Lübeck, and there received the homage of the nobility and bishops of all three kingdoms, to whom the city showed bounteous hospitality. Yet, not very long after, the king repaid the friendliness of the citizens by a scurvy plot to capture the city with which he was at peace. He announced his desire to meet a number of his Bavarian relatives for the purpose of settling some family affairs, and asked for accommodation in Lübeck for them and himself and following. Before long the Bavarian nobles began to arrive with large retinues and great numbers of casks, said to contain wine with which they meant to regale themselves and the citizens. The king was to come with a small army, and notify his friends in the city of his approach by burning a neighbouring village. Unfortunately for the success of this scheme, a village caught fire by accident several days before the king's arrival. The Bavarian nobles armed their retainers, the wine casks having been filled with arms instead of wine, and took possession of the gates, expecting momentarily the arrival of the king with his troops. The citizens rushed to arms, and easily overpowered the Bavarians, to whom no reinforcement arrived, and ejected them, so that they were the first to carry the news of the failure of the plot to the furious king, who had to turn and march home again. He died not long after, and on his death-bed is reported to have confessed that all his savings, his plots and his striving had had but one object, and that was the destruction of Lübeck. Yet he had always, in public, professed friendship for the place.

It was at this time that the great burgomaster, Castrop, lived and brought Lübeck to the very highest point of influence and prosperity. He was a far-seeing statesman, who represented the city at Copenhagen in 1462, at Thorn in 1464, at Utrecht in 1474, and who had much to do with making a treaty with England. "Let us wait. It is easy to spread the battle flag to the wind, but hard to furl it again," is one of his remarks, which indicates his constant efforts for peace. He was a rich man, but not born of a patrician family. The Zirkel brethren, however, broke their rules in order to enrol him as a member, and he was also a member of the merchants' club and of the singing club, which latter he founded. He was certainly the first, and perhaps the only, man who was at one and the same time member of all three of those clubs, which were often rivals, and which included every one who was aristocratic, wealthy or distinguished in Lübeck. When at the head of the senate he sent two thousand paid soldiers to the relief of Vienna. He strengthened the city's

walls and fortified her gates. He had the harbour dredged, and sunk heavy chests of stones to stop the filling up of the channel by narrowing it, an engineering feat which was regarded, at the time, as simply marvellous.

His reception of Albert, duke of Saxony, with a great following of princes, nobles, ladies and knights, who came on gaily-decked steeds and in gilded coaches—1000 horses in all—in 1478, was probably the most splendid pageant the city ever witnessed. The guests were feasted for five days. Balls, banquets and tournaments took place each day, and the Zirkel brethren of Lübeck proved themselves equal with sword or lance to the lords of Stollberg, Mecklenburg, Henneburg, Schwarzburg, Oldenburg, Gleichen and the rest of the titled chivalry of northern Germany. The chronicler delights in describing the splendours of the dresses, the furs, the jewels, the stately dances and the enormous quantities of wine, beer and costly food consumed.

Lübeck had become rich and luxurious. Music and the fine arts were encouraged. Some of the best still existing works of art in Lübeck date from this period, as, for instance, the Holstein gateway, the tabernacle, or sakramentshäuschen in the Marien Kirche, some of the bronzes in the council house, and the Memling painting in the cathedral.

When Christian was King of Denmark, Schleswig and Holstein also accepted him as their ruler, as he was rightful heir to both through different lines of ancestors. This was very unwelcome to Lübeck. She had hoped Schleswig and Holstein would join together and form a strong, independent German state, and a bulwark against Scandinavia.

Soon after this the deposed King Carl of Sweden returned from Dantzic and resumed the crown, declaring the independence of Sweden. Bound by treaty to do so, Lübeck sent several men-of-war to assist the Danes, but she really rejoiced over their defeat and the consequent disruption of the Union of Calmar.

At this period the Hansa was very high and mighty in its dealings with other countries. In her official communications Lübeck signed herself, "Head of the seventy-two cities." Scotland gave offence in 1412, and Lübeck forbade all trade with Scotland. Bruges, needing Scottish wool, petitioned Lübeck to be allowed to import it, but it was four years before the permission was granted, and then after a few months it was withdrawn again, and all trade with Scotland was forbidden, an embargo which lasted until 1436.

In 1430 Spain gave offence, and Spanish wool was put under the ban, despite urgent efforts made by Bruges to prevent it. After thirteen years of this boycott the Hansa wrung from reluctant Spain a treaty giving German ships special and valuable privileges in all Spanish ports.

There was a long wrangle with France, but eventually Louis XI. signed a treaty granting German traders important privileges at Rochelle and elsewhere.

In 1451 the Hanseatic representatives once more solemnly left Bruges and refused to trade with Flanders, maintaining the boycott for six years. At the end of that time the Flemings yielded, and when the Hanseatic aldermen deigned to return with pomp, Bruges received them with humility.

The English parliament protested against the outrageous treatment of English merchants in Germany, and Henry VI. suspended the privileges of the Osterlings in English towns in 1447. In 1449 an English fleet attacked a German fleet, capturing fifty vessels. The Germans retaliated by seizing every English ship they could find. Lübeck declared war against England, declining the proffered mediation of the grand master, Hamburg and Cologne, and carrying on a privateering war for several years. In a treaty between the Hanseatic League and England in 1453 Lübeck declined to be included.

In 1456 an armistice of eight years was agreed to, but it was rudely broken by the great Earl of Warwick when he seized eighteen ships belonging to Lübeck in the harbour of Calais. The other towns submitted to England's demands, but Lübeck continued the war, doing so much damage to English ships that England was enraged, and in 1469 all Germans then in England were imprisoned and their property was confiscated to help pay for the losses. All the German cities then joined Lübeck, excepting Cologne, which possessed some special privileges, and now alone occupied the Steelyard in London. In consequence of this Cologne was expelled from the League, which formally declared war upon England in 1470.

About this time Edward IV. was driven out of England, and his brother-in-law, Charles the Bold, called upon the Hansa to aid in restoring him. In 1471 the German ships took an important part in his successful return, yet peace was not signed until 1474, when all the Hanseatic privileges were renewed, and their "factories" in London, Boston and Lynn were restored to them. Two years later Cologne was forgiven and readmitted to the League.



WOOD-CARVING IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH

CHAPTER XIV

THE BROTHERS OF THE RING

THERE existed in Lübeck a curious society, to which I have already referred, commonly known as the Zirkel Gesellschaft, or Brothers of the Ring. It was founded September 2, 1379, by nine of the land-owning gentry of the city, two of whom were members of the Darsow family. They made an agreement with the monks at the monastery of St. Catherine that they should have a chapel in their newly built abbey, and that the monks should say a mass every day for these nine gentlemen—who hoped to lay up treasure in heaven—and for all future members of the society, on Sunday immediately after the sermon, and on weekdays at the end of the other masses. It was also agreed that when a member of the society died he was to be treated exactly as if he had died as a monk of the order. The official name of the society was “a Brotherhood in Honour of the Holy Trinity,” and its original objects were entirely religious and social. The members wore a metal ring suspended on their breasts, and were soon generally known as the Ring, or Circle, Brothers. Of the original members one only, Gerard Darsow, was a senator, but most of the others became senators later. By 1385 they were already referred to in an official document as the company of circle-wearers. They are also usually referred to as young gentlemen—Jung Herren, abbreviated to Junkern. They had a right to have their individual shields and arms hung, after death, in the church of St. Catherine.

In spite of its religious origin, the society very soon became the leading social, sporting and political centre of Lübeck. It was also the recognized aristocracy. The usual way of referring to the inhabitants was as the gentlemen, meaning the senators, the young gentlemen, meaning the Circle Brothers, and the

others, meaning all the rest of the inhabitants. By law they, and they alone, were authorized to wear whatever they pleased—the richest clothing, the most costly furs, the heaviest gold chains and the most precious jewels. In war they ranked as knights, and had the right to wear helm and shield; but in peace the empire only recognized them as esquires. It was not until 1641 that the emperor officially recognized them as an order which conferred nobility upon its members.

After the first few years there were usually thirty brethren; but the number was at times increased, so that in 1430 there were fifty-two. It was a very exclusive society, and mere wealth was not sufficient to entitle citizens to aspire to membership.

Very early in its history it began to influence the choice of senators, and for centuries it was the greatest political factor in the city. A few years after the foundation the brethren began to have certain festivals and to provide public spectacles, at first of a rough, rude description. Thus, in 1386 they had a number of blind men, dressed in armour and armed with clubs, who were turned loose in the market-place with a pig. When, after much stumbling and buffeting, they succeeded in killing the pig, they had it roasted for supper. The chronicler avers that this fine spectacle aroused universal interest.

They had their chief merry-making at the carnival time, beginning on Sunday at ten in the morning. There was a dinner, for members only, and a supper to which ladies were invited. Between these banquets, wine and an especial kind of cake were served. In the evening, after supper, a procession was formed (all in masks and fantastic costumes), which marched to the citadel. This was repeated on Monday and Tuesday; but on the latter evening every one carried a torch, and the procession continued its march from the citadel to the council house, where more wine was drunk in the Rathskeller. No circle brother, who was not absent from the city or confined to bed, was permitted to abstain from these junketings. The servants of the brethren marched alongside their masters in the procession, and stood behind, holding the torches, during the carousing in the Rathskeller.

Early in the fifteenth century they began to give dramatic performances, and there is a very interesting list, still extant, of the plays in which the brethren appeared from 1430 to 1574. The youngest twelve members were obliged to take part in the acting, and any of the other members were permitted to do so. There is great variety in the names of the plays and in their

character. Thus, there are many moralities and scriptural performances; but there are also *Paris of Troy and the three naked maidens*, *Criemhilda*, *King Carl* and the *Golden Fleece of Jason*. On Trinity Sunday and Monday the brotherhood had festivals, or picnics, in the country at the Olafsberg, and at Advent they held solemn memorial services for all former brethren who were dead. There were then especial masses at St. Catherine's, and a religious procession, but no festivities.

There was a club house where they met every day, and where private suppers were given. It was not exclusively a Zirkel club house, as they admitted, as temporary members, the hired commander of the Lübeck troops, who was usually a nobleman, and also most of the foreign representatives, or ambassadors, who were in Lübeck.

The plays were performed on a platform on wheels, drawn by oxen. It must have been very large, as we read that in 1458 it was upset, and twenty-four persons who were on it—sixteen women and eight men—escaped unhurt, "through the grace of God." We see from this that women acted as early as this in Germany. However, this may have been the case only in such performances as these, which were of the nature of private theatricals, in which the women as well as the men were probably members of the most aristocratic families in the city.

In 1485 the brotherhood petitioned the emperor for official recognition, and received imperial authority to wear a badge shaped like a circle, and a chain composed of circles with eagle's tails between, with an emblem of the Holy Trinity as pendant. Dr. Wehrmann, in his paper on this subject, says that no chain of this kind is now known to exist, although there are still many portraits in which the chain is seen. Specimens of the pendant and of the badge are preserved in the museum at Lübeck.

Frequent tournaments were held by the brothers, and tilting at a revolving horizontal bar with a ring at one end and a sack of meal at the other¹ was a favourite amusement. As time went on many legacies were left to the brotherhood for charitable purposes, such as the periodical distribution of food or alms. Heinrich Zerrentin, one of the most generous of these benefactors, endowed free houses for twenty poor people, with a sum of money for keeping the houses in repair, and, in addition, a sum of money (about an English sixpence), a loaf of

¹ In England this game was called Quintain.

bread and a herring once every week to each of one hundred and twenty poor folk. This Zerrentin charity still flourishes, though it is now administered by the city, which took over all the Zirkel charities from the various trustees in 1846.

When the old senate was driven out the new senate had promptly confiscated the property of the brotherhood and of the



THE EMPEROR AND SEVEN ELECTORS—BRONZE DOOR-KNOCKER,
COUNCIL HOUSE

brethren; but when the old senate returned to power in 1416, fourteen of the senators were Circle brothers, and they at once chose seven more brothers to be senators, making twenty-one in all, and from that time forward most of the senators were Brothers of the Ring, and consequently most of the men who made the history of Lübeck were members of the order.

Among the earliest names in the list of brethren is that of Warendorp. Few European families have a longer authentic history. In 1188, when the city was first building, Giselbert von

Warendorp was sent to Frederick Barbarossa to represent the fledgling city in a quarrel with the Count of Holstein, and he won his case. From that time forth the name continually recurs in the annals of Lübeck. The family owned many neighbouring villages and large estates. In 1289 Bruno Warendorp was elected senator, and continued in office fifty years. During the fifteenth century eleven of the family were senators at different times. At one period there were four in the senate at once. In 1351 Gottschalck von Warendorp was a Teutonic Knight. In 1369 Bruno von Warendorp led the Lübeck fleet against the Danes, and was killed in action off Schonen. The family had its own chapels in the cathedral and in the Marien Kirche. In 1558 a Warendorp was for the last time chosen senator, and in 1738 one was for the last time chosen a Brother of the Ring; and then, after five hundred and fifty years of prominence, the name disappears from the history of Lübeck.

The Pleskows were another family famous in the brotherhood. Originally from Wisby, they settled in Lübeck soon after it was founded. In 1301 Heinrich Pleskow was a senator, in 1316 he was ambassador to the pope at Avignon, and in 1326 he was burgomaster.

By 1457 ten Pleskows had been senators, and of these two, Jacob and Jordan, rank among the city's greatest men.

The former was chosen when very young, and took an active part in twenty-seven congresses of the Hanseatic League. After the unfortunate war with Waldemar he encouraged the citizens, buoyed their hopes and urged them on to renewed and, at length, successful efforts. He was constantly travelling as ambassador—now to Russia, now to Norway, now to England or Flanders. He died when on public business at Rostock in 1381.

Jordan Pleskow, who became senator in 1389, led four thousand citizens against Balthazar, duke of Mecklenburg, in 1401, and he defeated him a second time in 1404. He was the chief burgomaster at the time of the revolution in 1408, and a most active member of the banished senate. In 1420 he led the attack on Bergedorp and Riepenburg, and he died in 1425. In the records of the city his name is followed by the words—"*hic totum habuit bonus vir habere debuit.*"

The Darsow family came to Lübeck from Mecklenburg early in the fourteenth century, and was famous for its wealth. Two Darsows were among the founders of the brotherhood. In 1375 the Emperor Charles IV. and his wife spent ten days in

Gerhard Darsow's house, and the emperor borrowed two thousand golden gulden from him. Three brothers were senators. They owned large estates in Lauenburg. The male line soon became extinct, but a daughter married a Wicked, and her descendants were long among the leaders of Lübeck.

Simon Swerting represented the city in England for many years. He was a favourite of Edward III., who gave him, when he left England, a piece of one of the bones of St. Thomas of Canterbury, with other relics of that saint, and documents signed by four English bishops attesting the genuineness of the relics, and that the king only permitted these precious objects to leave the kingdom because the grand master had asked it, and because of his great respect for the Hansa and personal esteem for the ambassador.

Heinrich Westhoff was chosen senator, 1372. Some modern writers have called him the greatest statesman of his day. His first great work was to settle the difficulties which had arisen in Flanders, where the Hansa, incensed at the haughty attitude of Bruges, had abandoned and boycotted that city in 1388. The business was long and tedious, with many recriminations on both sides, but it was finally settled to the satisfaction of the Germans, and on St. Thomas's Day, 1392, Westhoff and Hoyer of Hamburg rode at the head of one hundred and fifty richly-dressed, well-mounted merchants into the city of Bruges, where they were received with great pomp and escorted to the old headquarters of the Hansa.

After this Westhoff had to arrange the Danish succession and, incidentally, to persuade Queen Margaret of Denmark to release Duke Albert of Mecklenburg, a pretender to her throne, whom she had captured and held for six years. Westhoff was a member of the old senate when banished, and he died in exile at Lüneburg in 1415, a year before the triumphal return of his friends to Lübeck.

Heinrich Castorp was another of the more famous of the brethren, and he founded the other and but slightly less aristocratic society, the *Kaufleute Kompagnie*, or Commercial Club, whose members, limited to forty, were the leading merchants. They, like the Brothers of the Ring, had processions, banquets, tournaments, plays, and they also took part in politics. As a rule they were much richer than the Ring brethren, individually, and they were far more lavish in their expenditure, but, as a rule, also, they were not so blue-blooded. One year we read that the Ring Brothers spent four marks for stage decorations,

but the company spent thirty marks. In the joint processions, however, the company always walked after the brotherhood.

When members of the company were elected senators, the brotherhood usually, as soon as possible, chose them to be brethren, but Castorp was the first man who belonged to both.

Each society had a special dance (that of the brothers was called a "Ruppelrey"). It would be interesting to know what these were like (that of the company was called a "Springelrey"), but there seems to be no description extant. Each society had its own peculiar cake. That of the brotherhood was baked in ring-shaped pans with special inscriptions. The receipt for making these has been preserved.¹ Both societies flourished until the Reformation, when dissensions arose which ruined them. Most of the brethren became Protestants, but there was much bitter feeling. Nicholas Brömse, of whom we shall hear later, was a fanatical Romanist, whilst Thomas Wickede, one of the most popular men who ever lived in Lübeck, was a Protestant. The internal quarrels practically brought the brotherhood to an end, and no meeting was held from 1537 to 1580, when an effort was made to revive it. The papers, plate and some of the other property were gathered together, the club house, which had been let, was resumed, and in 1586 there was another carnival procession, with old-fashioned feasting—the first for fifty years. This was continued annually until 1630, when it was again given up. Nevertheless, though deprived of political importance, the brotherhood continued to exist as a select club and a sort of order of nobility. Hitherto an effort had been made to recruit the membership from men who had been distinguished for public work, but a new rule was adopted, excluding all save those whose ancestors had been members. From that time the influence of the brotherhood declined. The members were patricians, they had certain recognized social privileges, but since the leading men who were not of patrician birth were thus excluded, the political importance of the club declined rapidly. Then, quite unexpectedly, the emperor recognized the brethren in an official document as nobles, and it was determined that thenceforth none but nobles should be available as members. By the close of the Thirty Years' War the Zirkel, instead of having a majority or a preponderating influence, had only two members in the senate.

Owing to the new state of affairs, many of the brethren, who

¹ "Take a paste and roll it out very thin and take some sodden meat and some baked bacon and apples and pepper and eggs therein and bake that."

were mostly landowners, deserted the city and became subjects of some one of the neighbouring princes in Germany, Holstein or Denmark. In 1680 there were but eighteen brothers left. The last of the famous Warendorp family was so poor that the brotherhood paid him a pension. He died 1744, and that same year died the last of the von Lüneburgs. The last von Wickede was also pensioned in order to retain him as a brother and keep the membership up to four, in order that they might still elect two senators.

In 1808 the plate was sold. There were seven hundred and twelve ounces of gilded silver, and five hundred and one ounces of plain silver, not including a famous mace, which was sold separately.

In 1820 the last two members, von Brüns and von Heintze, sold the club house for the benefit of local charities, and solemnly dissolved the society.

In addition to the aristocratic clubs, the various trades were very generally combined into Zunfts, or unions; but many of these began in the sixteenth century. Some, however, were earlier. Thus, the Zunft of parchment makers began 1330; the Zunft of shopkeepers dated back to 1353; brewers to 1363; cooks to 1369; tailors to 1370; butchers, 1385; ropemakers, 1390; fishermen, 1399; and brass-smiths, 1400. Dr. Wehrmann has written a book on the Zunfts of Lübeck, which contains much valuable and interesting information about the condition of the working classes.



WOOD-CARVING IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH

CHAPTER XV

A TROUBLED PERIOD

In 1442 the Elector of Brandenburg captured Berlin, annulled all her privileges and announced his intention of building a strong castle there. It is difficult to understand why the Hansa

did not interfere. If it had done so the power of Brandenburg might have been nipped in the bud and Prussia might never have been Prussia.

Finding Berlin's wrongs remained unavenged, other princes attacked other cities, and at last a Hansatag was called at Lübeck, which was very fully attended and where measures were taken for a united stand against such aggressions in the future; but Berlin was left to her fate. At this same congress the Westphalian Vehmgericht was denounced, and all cities and individuals were forbidden to obey any summons or decrees emanating from those secret courts.

In 1448 Berlin rose and tried to throw off the yoke of Brandenburg, appealing to Lübeck and the League for aid; but no aid was given, and from that time Berlin disappears from the list of cities forming the League.

In 1476 Lübeck joined the Saxon towns in making war upon the Duke of Brunswick, who had established a systematic robbery of all merchants passing between Lübeck and Frankfurt on Main. After losing several castles the duke bought peace by paying a heavy indemnity and promising to try to be honest in future—a promise which he succeeded in keeping for nearly ten years.

At this time Lübeck also had a war of her own with the Duke of Mecklenburg, and also assisted some of the smaller towns to put a stop to the raids of the Duke of Pomerania. She also sent aid to Bremen, upon whose commerce the Count of Oldenburg was preying.

Southern Germany was also torn by various internal wars, yet, as we have seen, the emperor had been able to collect a large army, including a contingent of six hundred men from Lübeck, which drove Charles the Bold from his siege of Neuss in 1475.

In 1491, after long negotiations, Henry VII. reconfirmed most of the privileges of the Hansa in England. Cologne attempted to conduct these negotiations, claiming to be the "head of the Hansa, and chief city of the empire." Hermann von Wickede, burgomaster of Lübeck, declared that his city was the one and only recognized head of the League, and that he, as her representative, was the only proper person with whom to conduct the business with England. His claims were recognized by the other representatives, Cologne was put to shame, and it was Wickede who carried the negotiations to a successful conclusion.

New disputes took place with Denmark about the Sound duties. The king asked to see proofs that the Hansa was, as it declared, free from all such charges. Documents to support the claim were not produced, perhaps had never existed, and the king decreed that ships of Lübeck, Hamburg, Rostock, Stralsund, Wismar and Lüneburg might pass free, since each of those cities could show documents granting such freedom; but they might not carry goods belonging to other towns without paying duty upon them. This implied a right of search and was highly resented.



ST. MARY'S, ROSTOCK

At this time, for a few years, Lübeck was a university town. The university of Rostock, one of the oldest in Germany, was driven from its home by local disturbances, and from 1487 to 1492 found a resting-place for its professors and students here.

The heaviest blow to the pride, power and prosperity of the League, since the destruction of Wisby, was the capture and, eventually, the complete destruction of Novgorod and the loss of its trade, which the League had always monopolized.

The Grand Duke of Moscow, Ivan III., had successfully

rebelled against the Mogul tyrants, and had set up as a tyrant on his own account. In 1473 he compelled the free city of Novgorod to swear allegiance, and drove out the Prince of Novgorod. He took forty-nine Hanseatic merchants prisoners and kept them until ransomed, some of them remaining in durance many years.

After this the trade languished, and most of what there was fell to Riga and Reval, though Lübeck struggled to get a share, until the place was utterly and finally destroyed by Ivan the

Terrible, fifty years later.

The contemporary accounts of the manner of living in the Hanseatic settlements of Novgorod, Schonen and Bergen show a roughness and a lack of ordinary culture and refinement, very different from what we know of life in Italian cities of that time. Coarse, brutal and cruel were the ways of the Germans when in those places, and there was little or no surface polish to disguise the truth. But when



GATEWAY IN ROSTOCK

we read contemporary accounts of the deeds of the Spaniards in new-found America, of the French in their conflicts with other nations, or of the Italians in their fights among themselves, we must, I think, conclude that it was an age of barbarous cruelty and coarseness, and that the Germans were probably no worse than the rest, though lacking the polish which veneered the boorishness of other peoples.

In the northern cities, though in that respect they were still

behind those of southern Germany, art was beginning to be appreciated and cultivated. Pictures and metal work were brought from Flanders, architecture and wood carving of a very high order were produced at home.

It was about this time that Dantzig acquired the great triptych, by Memling, which is her chief treasure. It is true that it was a notorious freebooter, Paul Beneke, who brought the picture to Dantzig and that he took it from a peaceful Florentine merchant who was conveying it from Bruges to London. Florence and England both protested, but Dantzig took it and kept it, and has now had it more than four hundred years, and a good many owners of great pictures can show no better title.

In 1494 the six cities, Hamburg, Lübeck, Rostock, Stralsund, Wismar and Lüneburg, joined the Swedes in a war against Denmark. King John, after three years' desultory fighting, concentrated a powerful Danish fleet on the Swedish coast and compelled Sweden to submit. Soon after he forced the cities to give in. Sten Stuve, the Swedish leader, did homage to King John; but, in a few years, he was again in arms for Swedish independence, and, with the aid of the Germans, the Swedes eventually succeeded in throwing off the hated Danish yoke.

In Liveland there was war in which some of the German cities took part; Lübeck sending help. In Rostock there was civil war at the same time that there was war with the two dukes of Mecklenburg. It was this which caused the banishment of the senate and the flight of the university to Lübeck.

The trouble between the city and the dukes, after a good deal of fighting, was referred to arbitration, with King John of Denmark as arbitrator. The verdict was against the city, which was condemned to pay large sums of money and to give up many cherished privileges. This was loyally accepted by Rostock; but, in carrying out the harsh conditions, fresh disputes arose and war was about to break out again when the Hansa intervened, and finally brought about a settlement which was more favourable for the town and at the same time satisfactory to the dukes.

About this time other cities were assisted by the League to successfully resist the encroachments of powerful noble neighbours or even of grasping overlords.

Thus Magdeburg and Hildesheim were aided in their

struggles with their bishops, and Brunswick was able to resist the felonious attempts of its unscrupulous duke.¹

¹ During the fifteenth century general comfort prevailed in Lübeck. Most of the people were well to do and many were rich. Numerous stately dwellings and warehouses were built. In 1427 the tower of St. Peter's was completed, having been thirteen years in building. The choir of St. Giles's was finished 1442,

and the addition to the Rathaus in 1444. During the same year the beautiful castle gate (Burgthor) was also completed, but the other surviving gateway, the Holstenthor, which is one of the most noticeable buildings in Lübeck to-day, was not completed until 1447. Between 1475 and 1484 the city walls were largely rebuilt, restored and greatly strengthened.

The ciborium in the Marien Kerche, a remarkable work in bronze, was designed by Nicholas Rughese, and cast by Nicholas Gruden in 1479. The fine bronze font was made in 1337 by Hans Apengeter, a Saxon.

The glass in the choir of this great church was removed from the castle chapel. It was made early in the fifteenth century by local artists. One of the west windows also dates from this period; but most of the rest of the coloured glass is modern.

There is a diptych, against the north wall, which was painted by Martin Radelef of Lübeck in 1494. It represents the death of the Virgin Mary. The famous mass of Pope Gregory was painted in oils on wood in 1470. Near the great clock the statues and the fine stone carving, with the celebrated mouse gnawing at the root of a tree, are late fifteenth-century work.

The most famous work of art in the cathedral also dates from this period. Canon Greverade built the chapel known by his name about 1491, and brought from Flanders, and hung there, the famous triptych with double doors painted by Hans Memling, and regarded as one of his chief works.

There is a carved and painted crucifixion in the chapel of the Brömsen family which was placed there early in the fifteenth century.

The baptismal font of bronze in the cathedral, representing a basin resting on four angels, is a fine work by Laurence Grove, a Hamburg sculptor. It is dated 1455. The cover of the font was added in the eighteenth century and is entirely unworthy. Many of the beautiful carved seats in the choir and nave are of this splendid period, and the marvellous hanging cross, an enormous work of wood brilliantly coloured and having a wealth of finely carved figures, was suspended in its present position by Bishop Krummendiek in 1477.

The beautiful bronze tomb of Bishop Henry II. is older, as it was made about 1350. It is one of the gems of sculpture in Lübeck and it was probably made in Flanders, as was that other fine



PEW END IN ST. MARY'S

CHAPTER XVI

DANISH WARS

IN 1504 the pope's legate, Cardinal Raymond Peraud, came to Lübeck in state and was successful in arranging a peace between Denmark and the city. The King of Denmark was represented by the Duke of Holstein, the Duke of Mecklenburg

bronze erected in memory of two bishops, Burchard and John, late in the fourteenth century. Many of the very curious lamps and candlesticks for which this cathedral is noted are of fifteenth-century workmanship.

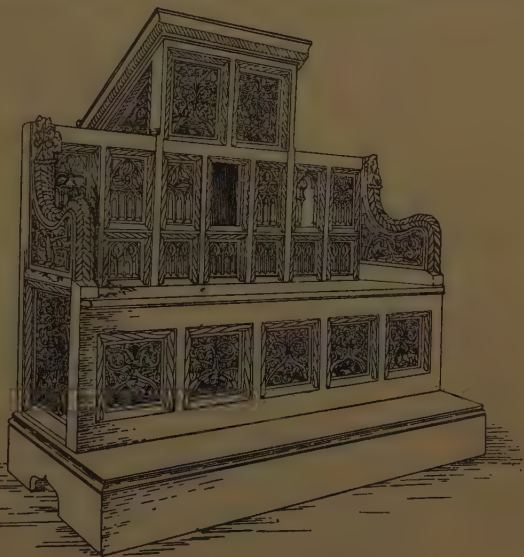
In St. James's church (Jakobikirche) is one of the finest works of art in Lübeck, a crucifixion in stone which was dedicated in 1488 by Burgomaster Henry Brömse. The old frescoes in this church which were painted about the same time have been covered with white-wash and quite forgotten. They were discovered in 1890 and uncovered. The font is also good fifteenth-century work.

In St. Catherine's church some good glass and some fifteenth-century frescoes still survive. In the Holy Ghost

Hospital the carved and painted altars, the rood screen and most of the statues, carved from wood and stone and brilliantly coloured, were made in the fifteenth century. Unfortunately, here and elsewhere in Lübeck, the hand of the nineteenth-century restorer has been very heavy upon them.

In St. Giles's (Aegidius) church there is also a little good work of this period. Note the beautiful Flemish memorial to John Klingenberg, the little memorial tablet to Lüdeke Lammeshoved, and the door-knocker and ornaments of the sacristy.

The printing press was introduced during the latter part of the fifteenth century and a Low German Psalter was printed here in 1472. The first Latin book was printed in 1475 and was called *Rudimentum Novitorum*. It was a collection of elegant extracts from Latin authors.



CARVED LECTERN IN CATHEDRAL

and the Bishop of Odensee, with full power to act. The result was, in some ways, unsatisfactory to King John, who tried to repudiate the action of his representatives, refusing to pay the indemnity they had agreed upon, or to release certain important prisoners; but the two dukes and the bishop were too strong for him, and compelled him to comply with all of the conditions of the treaty which they had signed on his behalf. Nevertheless the peace scarcely lasted five years, as in 1509 they were again at war, and Lübeck was sending all kinds of supplies to the rebellious Swedes. Denmark blockaded the mouth of the Trave and landed an army, which burned and pillaged farms and villages right up to the gates of the city, where they again met with defeat. Eight armed ships from Travemünde surprised the blockading squadron by night and captured or destroyed every ship. The invading army, defeated under the walls of Lübeck, and having its retreat cut off by the destruction of the fleet at Travemünde, escaped across the Holstein border with great difficulty and with the loss of all the booty that had been captured.

The Danes had a famous battleship called the *Swan*—the largest and most powerful in the world—of which great things were expected; but the Lübeckers in several small vessels surprised, attacked and destroyed it.

After this victory a fleet of fourteen Lübeck ships ravaged the Danish islands and did much damage to Danish shipping. Nine Swedish ships joined them, and the combined fleet almost ruined Laland and Bornholm, where they defeated a Danish fleet of eight frigates and captured the citadel of Olland, besides burning thirteen Danish merchantmen at Helsingoer. Kord König, a Lübeck hero, captured and brought home more than forty of the enemy's ships during the year. However, the League failed to join with Lübeck in this war, and Danzig, who never seemed to be much burdened by a sense of honour, actually made large sums by supplying the Danes with everything needful, and the Danes gratefully gave to Danzig, alone of German cities, the right to trade at Schonen.

In the summer a great naval battle took place between sixteen Lübeck men-of-war and seventeen Danish ships of about equal size and strength. One of the latter was a new vessel, the *Angel*, larger than the unlucky *Swan* had been. The Lübeckers had landed some of their guns and men to attack the fortified town of Hammerhus, in Bornholm, when the Danish fleet appeared, quite unexpectedly, and attacked at once.



COUNCIL HOUSE, DANZIG

The battle lasted all day, and at night both sides claimed the victory.

Some days later the fight was renewed, when, after several hours of fierce contest, the *Angel* had her rudder shot away and was taken in tow by her consorts, and the whole Danish fleet fled.

Notwithstanding this great victory and general success, not being supported by the League, Lübeck found her finances in such bad condition that she had to submit to a humiliating peace, and a treaty was signed in 1512 at Malmö, when she abandoned her Swedish ally and gave up the castle of Trittau to the Danes.

King John of Denmark died soon after this, and his successor, Christian II., made mighty efforts to make Copenhagen the centre of the Baltic trade, and to attract to his capital as much of Lübeck's trade as possible. He took the strong measure of forbidding his subjects to trade with Lübeck on pain of death. He also regained the sovereignty of Sweden, which he ruled with great cruelty and injustice.

It was at this time that Gustavus Vasa escaped from the clutches of the Danes and took refuge in Lübeck, where he lived for nearly a year with the famous privateersman, Kord König. During this long exile Gustavus devoted much of his time to the study of the doctrines of Martin Luther, which were beginning to make a stir in Germany. He lived, as I have said, with Kord König in the Kohlmarkt, but afterwards, when he was king, he bought the house No. 51 Breitenstrasse, and presented it to Dr. König, a son of his former host.

King Christian was a brother-in-law of the emperor, Charles V., and, knowing how little that Spanish monarch knew of his German dominions, he wrote to him that it would be a convenience for him to have a port on the mainland, where he might land when making his numerous visits to German princes, and asking him as an act of brotherly friendship to make him a present of such a port, at the same time suggesting that there was a little city called Lübeck which would exactly suit him. Unfortunately for the king's plan, the city of Cologne chanced to have a representative at the court of Spain, who informed the emperor that this little city of Lübeck had for centuries been the bulwark of the empire against Danish encroachments; that more than once she had successfully thwarted Danish intrigues, and that, in fact, she was the enemy most hated and most dreaded by the Danes.

In consequence of this information Charles V. refused to grant his brother-in-law's request.

Meanwhile, Gustavus Vasa had returned to Sweden and captured the whole country except Stockholm, Calmar and Abo. Then Lübeck sent a fleet under Frederick Bruns and Herrmann Plönnies, eighteen vessels in all, which prevented the relief of Stockholm by the Danes, and that city was, in consequence, compelled to surrender.

In June 1523 a large fleet was prepared for an expedition, under Admiral Falcke, to attack Copenhagen. Unfortunately, when still anchored off Travemünde, it caught fire by accident and was entirely destroyed. All the best part of Travemünde was also burned, a disaster from which that town has never recovered. Not only was the place burned, but much damage was also done by bombardment as, one after another, the magazines of the flaming men-of-war exploded.

So this expedition was abandoned, but King Christian had made himself so unpopular at his home that his Danish subjects rebelled and the Danish nobles offered the crown to Frederick, duke of Holstein, who accepted the offer and agreed to confirm all of Lübeck's ancient privileges if she would assist him. The city equipped an army, and, with a fleet of armed merchantmen, her men-of-war having all been burned, besieged Copenhagen. Christian was compelled to fly, and Frederick was proclaimed king of Denmark. At nearly the same time Gustavus Vasa was proclaimed king of Sweden. Lübeck was largely responsible for the success of both these kings, and now succeeded in bringing about friendly relations between them. For these services she was granted a lease of the island of Bornholm for fifty years.

Hans Holm is one of Lübeck's heroes of romance who was active in these wars. His parents had vowed that he should be a monk, but he felt no vocation for that kind of life, especially as St. George appeared to him in a dream and commanded him to be a soldier. After much discussion he solved the difficulty by taking the vows of obedience, chastity and poverty and then becoming a soldier. During the Danish war there were at one time two men condemned to death for some crime. They were to have been hanged next day, when Hans Holm asked to have them given to him to help him to carry out a plan of his to injure the enemy. When his request was granted he asked the men if they would prefer a shameful death on the gallows as criminals, or death with glory from an

enemy's bullet? They both chose the latter, and that night he had them row him in the darkness, secretly, to two great Danish men-of-war which were lying, off Travemünde, in wait for incoming Lübeck merchantmen. He succeeded in fastening packages of explosives with slow matches to each ship and escaped undetected. These primitive torpedoes exploded, setting fire to the ships, which were destroyed. Shortly after the merchant fleet came safely into port. The criminals were awarded life and liberty for having risked both on behalf of their country, and Hans Holm was given command of a small fleet of two frigates, with which he did much damage to the Danes, until they succeeded in surrounding him and capturing both ships. Holm was taken and thrown into a dungeon, where he fared badly until (being a person of handsome presence and pleasing address) he so fascinated his jailer's daughter, who brought him his daily bread and water, that she offered to help him to escape if he would marry her. This he swore to do, and the two escaped together, and, after many perilous adventures, arrived safely at Lübeck.

Then Hans Holm, being much troubled by his conscience, because of his conflicting vows, invited a number of leading knights and gentlemen and some prominent Churchmen to dine with him, and, after they had well eaten and drunk, he told them his story. How, although he was a soldier and sailor, he had taken the vows of a monk. Yet, when in prison and in danger of death, he had promised to marry a maiden if she would release him. This she had done, and, after many dangers, she was now in the city of Lübeck, expecting him to keep his promise. He, however, was unable to determine which of his vows was most binding upon him, and he had therefore invited them there, as a court of honour to decide for him. After a long discussion, during which much wine was drunk, it was decided that he must not marry the girl; but that he must provide a suitable dowry for her and also a satisfactory husband. This plan proved to be agreeable to the lady, and was promptly carried out. Hans Holm, himself, not long after met a soldier's death in Sweden.

CHAPTER XVII

WULLENWEBER

A STRONG feeling against the Church had grown up in Germany. In Lübeck this was largely due to the mismanagement of the schools and of the poor, which had been chiefly in the hands of the clergy. As the writings of Luther were printed and became very generally known, the Church did not gain in popularity. Yet Lübeck was slow to adopt the new doctrines. Stralsund, Rostock, Brunswick, Wismar and Hamburg one after the other became Protestant, but the senate of Lübeck, faithful to Rome, banished von Freimersheim, the Lutheran priest, and ordered the hangman to burn Luther's works publicly in the market-place.



87, BECKERS GRUBE

King Frederick of Denmark and Holstein gave the banished priest asylum in the neighbouring town of Oldersloe, and thither at first the citizens of Lübeck flocked to hear him; but the senate soon forbade all such visits, and placed troops on the road to turn back all citizens who

might be bound for Oldersloe; whilst those who tried to go to Wismar to the Protestant meetings there were likewise hindered, and those who persisted were punished by fine and prison. Many persons of the artisan class were thrown into



STREET IN LÜBECK

jail or fined for singing Luther's hymns, and most of the beneficed clergy were active in aiding the authorities to discover and punish these offenders.

On the other hand numbers of monks adopted the new doctrines, preached its dogmas and distributed its tracts.

The aristocratic party, including most of the patricians, nearly all the senators and the burgomasters, Nicolaus Brömse and Hermann Plönnies, were very bitter, seeking for and punishing every evidence of what they called Martinism. The fanatical prebend, Johann Rode, headed the priests in the same work.

Andreas Wilms, theologian to the chapter and chief preacher at St. Giles's, and Johann Wallhof, chaplain of St. Mary's, accepted Luther's teaching, and preached against the papacy, but were promptly deprived and banished from the city before they could preach a second time. Johann Osenbrügge for some time conducted religious services privately, but when detected he was thrown into a dungeon. The Elector of Saxony appealed for mercy for him, and four hundred respectable citizens demanded his release, whereupon the senate had him secretly carried on board a ship in which he was taken to Reval.

Burgomaster Bröms would gladly have resorted to extreme measures against the heretics, relying upon the support of the emperor, Charles V., who might have been expected to pardon any excess of zeal; but a number of influential senators, who were both patricians and papists, objected to all extravagance, and with much difficulty held the fiery Bröms in restraint.

In spite of the efforts of senate and clergy the people more and more accepted the new teaching, and when prevented from hearing Protestant sermons, determined not to listen to anti-Protestant diatribes, agreeing that, whenever the preacher in any church began to denounce Luther and his doctrines, the whole congregation should rise and sing the hymn which begins—

“Ach, Gott vom Himmel sieh darein,
Und lass Dich des erbarmen,
Wie wenig sind der Heil'gen Dein,
Verlassen sind wir Armen.
Dein Wort lässt man nicht haben wahr
Der Glaub ist auch erloschen gar
Bei allen Menschenkindern.”

With this strong feeling growing up between the governing classes and the people, the raising of additional revenues by means of taxation became difficult.

The close friendship with Denmark and Sweden was of short duration. King Frederick gave the Hollanders free entry to the Baltic, thus giving mortal offence to Lübeck, and in 1533 the Swedish government withdrew the privileges which Lübeck

had enjoyed since Gustavus came to the throne, but which had borne very heavily upon the Swedish people. These privileges granted out of gratitude just after Sweden, by Lübeck's aid,



STREET IN LÜBECK

had attained her long-fought-for freedom, were evidence of what Lübeck aimed at, but which no free people could possibly submit to. They forbade all foreigners, who were not members

of the Hansa, to trade in Swedish ports. They gave to the merchants of Lübeck sole right to sell foreign luxuries in Sweden, and forbade Swedish ships trading to any but Baltic ports—all outside commerce being a privilege of the Hansa.

Lübeck, anxious to protect her privileges, or, as she had taught herself to think, her rights, needed money especially to keep the Dutch out of the Baltic.

The senate called a meeting of forty-eight leading citizens, and after long wrangling, was forced—in order to get the money—to agree to allow one preacher of the new religion in the city. This was the entering wedge, and in a few years the Protestants occupied the cathedral, while all the monasteries were either secularized or abolished. All superfluous Church plate was taken possession of and sent to the treasury of the city. It amounted to nine thousand six hundred pounds' weight.

The Roman party was, however, not yet beaten, and Burgo-master Bröms succeeded in getting a mandate from the emperor for Lübeck to return to her old religion. The people refused to obey, and called upon Johannes Bugenhagen of Wittenberg, a friend of Luther's, to come and reorganize their Church affairs. The rules and regulations formulated by him continued to be the recognized law of the Church in Lübeck until late in the nineteenth century.

Among other changes he transformed the convent of St. Catherine into a high school.

Meantime a political revolution had also been taking place. The citizens had demanded and had obtained representation, and the reformed senate declared its adherence to the Union of Smalkald.¹ The two burgomasters, Bröms and Plönnies, ran away secretly and took refuge at the court of Charles V.

The new senate, twenty-four in number, had been chosen by the vote of the citizens, and the leader of the people in this hitherto bloodless revolution had been Jürgen Wullenweber, a Hamburg merchant of small fortune, and with no advantages of birth or position; but possessed of vast energy, great eloquence and grand ideas.

The emperor issued a new edict ordering the citizens of Lübeck to abandon their evil ways, revert to their old constitution and restore the old religion. The incensed populace began a riot, during which the club houses of the Brothers of

¹ A treaty entered into by various German princes in favour of Protestantism December 31, 1530.

the Ring and of the Kaufleute Kompagnie had their furniture smashed and the famous country club called the Olavsborg was completely destroyed.

The city then formally adopted the new constitution, according to which all classes, even the petty artisans, were represented in the senate; all Church property was taken over by the city, and the cathedral alone was left for the use of the Roman clergy, and that only during the lives of the existing chapter. The bishop had already left the city, and most of the episcopal revenues were safe from the citizens, as they were derived from estates in Holstein.

Having joined the Smalkald Union, the new senate felt safe so far as the emperor was concerned.

Wullenweber was elected to the senate when the new constitution went into effect, and a few months after, in March 1533, was chosen burgomaster.

Lübeck had used all her influence with King Frederick to induce him to prohibit Dutch trade in the Baltic. The Low Countries had assisted King Christian II., who was their sovereign's brother-in-law, in his efforts to regain the throne, but they agreed to abandon him if Frederick would not interfere with their Baltic trade, and this proposition Frederick had accepted.

Lübeck, after trying in vain to induce Sweden and the Wendish cities to join her, declared war by herself against the Dutch.

Wullenweber was determined that none of the city's rights or privileges should be lost or curtailed during his reign as burgomaster, and his eloquence carried the people with him, especially as he proposed to use the Church plate, which had been gathered into the treasury, instead of imposing fresh taxes.

Marx Meyer commanded the Lübeck fleet. He was a remarkable man, and is described as being very tall, with herculean shoulders and such strength and skill that upon one occasion, when attacked by six knights at once, he killed two, took two prisoners, and lamented that he had to let the other two escape. He was wildly beautiful,¹ and though rough and uncultured, having begun life as a blacksmith's apprentice, and then become a soldier of fortune, there was a magnetism or fascination about him which seemed to have its effect on all who came near him. He had a considerable amount of military experience before he

¹ Wildschön—*Lübeckischer Chronik*.

had been given the command of Lübeck's contingent of six hundred men in the war against the Turks. Returning from Vienna with an enhanced reputation, he was given command of the fleet. Before he sailed King Frederick died suddenly, and the Danes were once more plunged into a bitter civil war over the succession. The nobles of Schleswig and Holstein together with the Danish Protestants favoured Prince Christian, the late king's eldest son, whilst the Roman Catholics and many of the Danish nobles rallied around Prince John, a younger son. The Dutch and the emperor were for the latter.

Meyer took the fleet into the North Sea and captured a number of Dutch ships near the English coast. He then went ashore to arrange for provisioning his fleet; but as some goods belonging to the King of England had been in one of the Dutch ships which he had captured, he was arrested and thrown into the Tower of London. The Hanseatic ambassadors in London appealed on his behalf, and he was released and brought before the king, who, like so many others, took a great fancy to him, and after showing him many favours, knighted him and sent him home with greetings and two thousand pounds in aid of the German Protestant cause.

In the meantime his fleet had encountered a fleet of twenty Dutch ships and been compelled to take refuge in the Elbe, after which the Dutch sailed into the Baltic and did great damage to Lübeck property at Schonen and elsewhere. Wullenweber hastily gathered a fresh fleet of eighteen ships which drove the Dutch, who evaded a battle, back to the North Sea.

Peace negotiations were begun, and ambassadors from the Dutch, and from several of the cities of the Hansa, and from Prince Christian of Denmark, met in Hamburg in February 1534. Wullenweber and Meyer, both clad in splendid armour, appeared accompanied by sixty guards as the representatives of Lübeck. The former burgomaster, Bröms, arrived at the same time to represent the old régime in Lübeck, and called upon the Hansa to repudiate Wullenweber. The latter, in the name of Lübeck, demanded that the Dutch should abandon their Baltic trade and pay the city an indemnity of three hundred thousand gulden. It was soon evident that the feeling of the congress was entirely opposed to the new order of things in Lübeck; and Wullenweber, hastening home, called a public meeting in the Marien Kirche, and told how his efforts in behalf of the city had been all set at nought through the malign influence of Bröms and his adherents. He complained that there were numbers of senators

and citizens who were loyal to Holland instead of to Lübeck. He made a deep impression, and after two further public gatherings the opponents of Wullenweber either escaped or were



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arrested. He himself did not return to Hamburg, where an armistice of four years was proclaimed, and the Dutch had permission during that time to continue trading to the Baltic.

Then Wullenweber conceived a great plan. His two aims were to improve the condition of the middle and lower classes

and to further the Protestant cause. In spite of the protests of some prominent Protestant preachers, who wished to keep Church affairs separate from worldly politics, he insisted upon regarding the interests of both his favourite causes as being practically the same.

He knew that many of the farmers and most of the townsfolk of Denmark were opposed to the nobles and their candidate for the throne, Prince Christian. These people were loyal to their deposed king, Christian II., against whose imprisonment Martin Luther had protested. Although he was the bigoted emperor's brother-in-law, he was known to have shown some leanings toward the new doctrines. On the other hand Philip of Hesse and Ernst of Lüneburg, two staunch upholders of Protestantism, were friends of Prince Christian. Now Wullenweber hoped to get the assistance of the Smalkald Union to replace Christian II. on the throne on condition that he would agree to recognize Denmark as a Protestant country. This hope was based on the fact that the elector of Saxony, who was the head of that union, had offered King Christian an asylum during his exile. He also hoped that King Christian would agree to close the Baltic to the Dutch, and that consequently the other Baltic cities would join Lübeck as soon as war began, since they were all equally interested in keeping out the Dutch.

Count Christopher of Oldenburg, a younger son and a soldier of fortune, was hired with three thousand mercenaries by the city. The war was begun, against Wullenweber's advice, by invading Holstein and capturing Eutin and Trittaw. This exasperated the Holstein nobles, who assembled and retook Eutin. Count Christopher, having thus provided the city with a new and dangerous enemy, sailed away with a fleet of sixteen Lübeck ships and the avowed purpose of freeing the imprisoned king.

At first he met only with success. Recognized as the representative of Christian II., whose cousin he was, all parts of the kingdom, excepting Fühnen and Jutland, received him gladly. Copenhagen opened her gates to him, and his fleet held the Sound.

As Wullenweber had foreseen, Rostock, Wismar, Stralsund, Hamburg and Lüneburg now joined Lübeck, and the prospect of success was bright. Dietmarsh also contributed some money; but the expenses were very great, the funds were soon exhausted, and the people at home began to be restive. They were weary of the constant excitement and

turmoil, and refused to grant the extra supplies for which Wullenweber asked.

He then appealed to the Protestant sovereigns, from whom he confidently expected aid; but they all declined to assist

him excepting Henry VIII. of England, who sent him twenty thousand gulden. The Danish question had become a burning one in which all Europe was interested, but England alone with the peasants of Dietmarsh seemed to be willing to help the party which was recognized as that of Protestantism. Sweden, Pomerania, Prussia and Brunswick, whose rulers were Catholics or, as in the case of Sweden, personal enemies of King Christian II., sent aid to Prince Christian.

When Wullenweber was thus worried by the difficulty of raising supplies he was foully betrayed by Count Christopher,



SHIPPERS' GUILD HOUSE

who, however, succeeded in keeping his treachery secret. He began to intrigue for the crown for himself, and not only did he sit with his army inert in Copenhagen, doing nothing to free the king, but he also declined to meet the enemy in battle.

In the meantime the nobles of Jutland formally elected Prince Christian to be king, and he entered into an alliance with Gustavus Vasa, king of Sweden.

Ignoring the army of Count Christopher, which remained inactive at Copenhagen, the new king marched against Lübeck.

There was a dangerous insurrection of peasants in Jutland in favour of the old king, but Count Christopher refused to take advantage of this diversion or to give any aid or encouragement to these new allies, which would probably have insured their success. He calmly threw over Lübeck and the cause of the old king, and began negotiations with the emperor, offering, if he himself were made king of Denmark, to accept the throne as a fief of the empire.

The people of Lübeck, cut off from the sea by the besieging forces, and corrupted by the agents of Bröms, lost their courage, and elected a new senate which was opposed to Wullenweber, and, despite his remonstrances, and although he was still burgomaster, began to treat for peace with Holstein, to whom they surrendered the fortresses of Eutin and Trittau, and peace was agreed upon, leaving both parties free as to their action in Denmark.

Wullenweber then succeeded in negotiating an agreement between Rostock, Wismar, Stralsund and the duchy of Mecklenburg, by which the Duke of Mecklenburg was recognized as the heir presumptive of Christian II., and an army under Meyer and Count John of Hoya was sent to Denmark in December 1534. In January Meyer and most of his troops were captured by a plot of some Swedish troops, who were their trusted allies.

Wullenweber, accompanied by the Duke of Mecklenburg, landed in Zealand in April. They knew nothing of Count Christopher's treachery; but found it impossible to induce him to act. In June the Lübeck army under Count John of Hoya was defeated in a land fight in which Count John was killed; and the same month a Lübeck fleet of twelve ships was defeated by the Danish admiral Skram, commanding a fleet of Swedish and Prussian ships, in an action near Svendborg. Prince Christian landed in Zealand and laid siege to Copenhagen. He was now very generally recognized as Christian III.

Marx Meyer succeeded in winning over his jailers, and was once more active.

Wullenweber, with his usual energy, was travelling about seeking everywhere for aid; but at home his friends were cowed and his enemies were plotting his overthrow. Bröms had been knighted and ennobled by Charles V., and was at Wismar awaiting a favourable opportunity to return. The emperor issued an edict ordering Lübeck to receive Bröms as her burgomaster, and to persecute and drive out the anabaptists, of whom

Wullenweber was now accused of being a leader, although he had never had the slightest connection with them.

The excesses of John of Leyden and his fellow-fanatics at Münster had just horrified Europe.

Once more Wullenweber appealed to the people not to regard the imperial demands, but the fickle people were tired of defeat, and decided to obey the emperor.

Wullenweber was sent on an embassy to Mecklenburg, and during his absence it was decided that the old religion should be reinstated, though the adherents of the new faith were to be allowed freedom of worship until a Church council should decide upon that question. Bröms was brought back in great state, accompanied by two burgomasters of Cologne, and solemnly enthroned at the council house.

When Wullenweber returned there was only one course open to him—he resigned.

This was in August 1535. In October of the same year an election of senators was held, the voters being once more restricted to those who had had the franchise under the old patrician régime. All that the Revolution and the Reformation had won was swept away, except the right of Protestants to worship in freedom, and that for the moment was not interfered with.

In 1536 a treaty of peace was signed at Hamburg. Lübeck acknowledged Christian III. as king of Denmark; but insisted on the release of Christian II., and the pardon of Copenhagen and Malmö. Nevertheless, in May, Lübeck's general, Marx Meyer, was captured, tortured and beheaded by the Danes, possibly by the advice of Bröms.

Copenhagen distrusted the new king and refused to surrender, hoping for relief from the Pfalsgrave, who, indeed, raised an army for that purpose, but was unable to get it transported to Denmark, as the Dutch and the Hansa both refused their aid in the way of ships. When all hope was gone and all food consumed, Copenhagen sullenly submitted. Duke Albert of Mecklenburg was permitted to march out and go home; but Count Christopher was compelled to go on foot publicly to beg forgiveness from Christian III., and to swear that he would never again set foot in Denmark.

In spite of the agreement, signed at the same time as the treaty of peace, Christian II. was kept in a dungeon for three years longer, since the newly restored government of Lübeck had no interest in seeing that he was released.

Christian III. established himself and the reformed religion at the same time, and made friends with Gustavus Vasa in Sweden.

Lübeck had lost her position as king-giver to Scandinavia; and her influence in the north and her prestige throughout Europe were greatly reduced. Wullenweber's schemes would have placed these higher than ever had they succeeded, as they almost certainly must have done had he been loyally supported by his own city, by the Hansa, or by his sworn allies. The intrigues of Bröms, who, more than any one other, contributed to the downfall of his city and the Hansa, the treachery of Count Christopher, the coldness of the Hansa (doubtless largely due to Bröms) were the cause of Wullenweber's fall, and also of Lübeck's decline.

After a number of years Lübeck was readmitted to a certain amount of trade with Denmark, but as long as Gustavus Vasa lived she was completely shut out of Sweden.

Bröms was reinstated in August 1535. His new senate was elected in October, and that same month Wullenweber journeyed into the diocese of Bremen intent on procuring aid and succour for Copenhagen. At Hamburg he met the ambassadors of Henry VIII., who promised him assistance; but as he rode from that city he was set upon by the archbishop's men, who captured him and flung him into a dungeon, at first in the castle of Rothenburg near Bremen. Henry VIII. made vigorous efforts to have him freed, writing frequently to the archbishop on his behalf. Hamburg and the city of Bremen urged his release, but (so infamously low had Bröms descended) the burgomaster of Lübeck had begged the archbishop to arrest him as a very dangerous man—all Europe knew of him and of what he had done and tried to do; Christian III. and the German Catholic princes dreaded him; and the archbishop's brother Duke Henry of Brunswick-Wülfenbüttel, a fanatical anti-Protestant, had him in his power. He acted as his judge and, under the double torture, extracted from him confessions—confessions which were entirely false, and which he retracted when freed from the torture. A second time he was submitted to the terrible trial; but with more courage than at first he refused to repeat the so-called confession, and denied that he was a thief, a traitor or an anabaptist, all three of which he was accused of being. He was kept in prison for more than a year, although friends, many of them powerful, made constant efforts to have him released. At length he had a final trial at Brunswick in September 1537,

when he was condemned to be beheaded, drawn, quartered and nailed to a wheel. He died protesting his innocence, a victim of the fear, hatred and envy of his enemies, led by Bröms, who was afraid to arrest him in Lübeck (or to bring him there for trial, a right which Wullenweber in vain demanded), and consequently induced the archbishop to violate all usage and all law, since at the time of his capture he was travelling as the official representative of Lübeck, endeavouring to procure assistance for that city's allies, and in a friendly country. Both archbishop and duke acted in a manner which would have brought upon them vengeance prompt and dire in the days before Lübeck fell into the hands of Bröms.

Wullenweber strove to make Lübeck a free Protestant city, the recognized ruler of the Baltic. He failed because of the hatred and intrigues of some of his own townsmen and the treachery of some of his trusted friends. The vindictiveness of Bröms and his group was such that every portrait that could be found of Wullenweber was destroyed, and the only known likeness now is a caricature representing him with a huge, distorted nose, with a gallows as crest, which can still be seen in the museum at Lübeck.

Few wars were ever productive of so much treachery as this final war with Denmark and Sweden. All of the princes engaged were plotting secretly; every battle had a tale of treason. Meyer, the general of the Hanseatic forces, was betrayed and captured by his own Swedish allies, and later, when captured, was tortured and executed most cruelly in defiance of all the customs of civilization and the laws of war. Of all the other prominent men of the war Wullenweber stands alone as the sole honest, single-hearted man; tireless in his efforts to carry out his designs; but true to his word and faithful to his allies.

CHAPTER XVIII

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE HANSA

THE reactionary movement in Lübeck which hurled Wullenweber from power and brought back Bröms and his friends, seems to have paralyzed the city. She not only no longer led, she no longer took part in the exciting events of the day. Though, nominally, still a member of the Union of Smalkald,

she declined to contribute either men or money, on the plea of poverty. The people of Brunswick rose and drove out their bigoted Roman Catholic duke, and when he tried to return with an army, the Smalkald Union drove him back and took him prisoner; Lübeck made no sign. When the cities of Hamburg, Magdeburg and Brunswick raised an army for the relief of Bremen, Lübeck took no part.

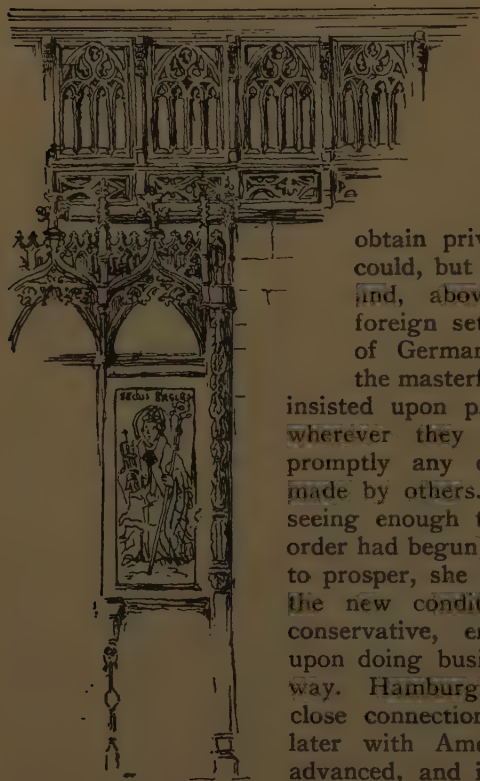
In 1563, Lübeck suddenly awoke and appeared once more, and nearly for the last time, as a leading maritime power. And this practically final appearance was not without its brilliant as well as its tragic episodes.

War broke out once more between Sweden and Denmark. Lübeck sided with the latter because Sweden persisted in revoking most of the privileges of the Hansa, and interfering with Lübeck's trade. A fleet was sent out and, in a great battle in 1564, Senator Knevel, the Lübeck admiral, captured the Swedish flagship, famous for its vast size, and for its seven hundred men and one hundred and fifty guns. When this huge prize was brought home the citizens became enthusiastic, holding public meetings at which they promised to contribute large sums of money as voluntary subscriptions to the war fund. A new fleet was sent out and the inhabitants of different streets paid for guns to be cast bearing the street name and some patriotic inscription. Most of these guns were placed in the fine new flagship, the *Adler*, which had one hundred and twenty-two guns; but she never went into battle, though the war lingered, dragging its slow length along until at last peace was made in 1570. Sweden, in the treaty then concluded, promised to comply with many of Lübeck's demands and to pay her seventy-five thousand thalers. However, she never did either, and Lübeck was no longer powerful enough to enforce her rights.

Trade conditions changed, and trade centres with them. The west and the east were discovered, and became tributaries of Portugal and Spain, and to those countries the ships of other lands must go. For a time the Hansa did a vast trade in that direction; and the company, or guild, of Spanish voyagers was for a little while the most important and flourishing company in Lübeck. Then came the revolt of the Netherlands, the wars between Spain and England and the Thirty Years' War. The League was torn by internal dissensions and fierce jealousies. Lübeck, though she refused to take an active part against the Netherlands, threw in her lot with Spain, whereas Hamburg

sided with the English, even going so far as to grant the Merchant Adventurers of that country access to the Elbe, and a house and trade privileges in Hamburg.

The year 1611 is sometimes given as the date of the death of the Hanseatic League.



STALLS IN CATHEDRAL

Lübeck resented Hamburg's attitude. One of the fundamental principles of the Hansa was to found offices and agencies and

obtain privileges wherever they could, but to grant no privileges and, above all, to allow no foreign settlements in any part of Germany. However, under the masterful Elizabeth, England insisted upon protecting her citizens wherever they went, and resented promptly any claims of superiority made by others. Hamburg was far-seeing enough to realize that a new order had begun, and that, if she were to prosper, she must adapt herself to the new conditions. Lübeck, more conservative, endeavoured to insist upon doing business in the good old way. Hamburg, largely owing to her close connection with England, and later with America, has steadily advanced, and in times of peace has prospered wonderfully until, now, she is one of the greatest ports of the

world, whilst Lübeck as steadily declined until during the Napoleonic wars she almost ceased to exist. Since that time she has grown and flourished, but at the best, now she is only a small provincial German city with considerable trade.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the city's debt increased, especially during the Thirty Years' War, to such an extent that the old governing class found it necessary to admit

the citizens more and more to a share in the government, and in the responsibility. The constitution was revised and changed in 1604, in 1665 and in 1669, giving new powers to the citizens, and establishing a second chamber. Thus the people gained, in years of adversity, a considerable measure of that freedom for which, in times of prosperity, they had striven in vain. David Gloxin, who represented Lübeck at the Westphalian peace congress in Osnabrück and Münster, was chiefly instrumental in bringing about the later changes.

In 1657, when Sweden and Denmark were again at war, the mighty Lübeck was so fallen that she took no part, though Brandenburg and Poland were allies of Denmark.

The cities had ceased to be independent powers, and the Hansa was dead. Nevertheless a new and small Hansa was born in 1669, when Bremen, Hamburg and Lübeck formed a league, which has had many changes, but which, or the ghost of which, survives to-day.



HOUSE IN MAHLENSTRASSE

One reason for this great change was the growing power of the princes. In most countries of Europe, the sense of nationality was increasing, and each ruler was endeavouring to consolidate his realm and bring the cities of his land under control. Many cities were compelled to withdraw from the League, and that great sea power fell, not beneath the blows of enemies from without so much as from internal disintegration. No one of the countries composing the empire was strong enough or rich enough to take the place vacated by the League. In the empire itself there was little or no cohesive power and, oftener than not, the various parts of it were at war with each other, and in consequence, as a maritime power, Germany almost ceased to exist, until it was recreated after the birth of the new empire in 1870.

The superiority of the citizen patricians to the nobles also became less, or ceased altogether, as education and polish became more general among the noblesse and as the power of

the patricians waned. Gradually the German noble ceased to be merely an ignorant, superstitious provincial swashbuckler,



WROUGHT-IRON SCREEN

living chiefly by such plunder as his mailed fist could win for him. He began to go more and more to the capital of his

feudal lord, to find out the advantages of education, and to acquire some of the polish and refinement which were very slowly making their way into the German courts. He could not be very refined, as his schools of refinement, the small German courts, even down to the latter part of the eighteenth century, seem to have been coarse and brutal to an almost incredible degree, with a veneer of imitation of the manners and morals of Versailles.

The manners and habits of the better classes of citizens of Lübeck or Bremen in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries were superior to those of the courts of Berlin or Baireuth in the eighteenth century, if we can believe the contemporary accounts. Nevertheless, there was a great improvement in the average noble, and men of rank began, far more than before, to make their marks in other ways than by brutality and fist power. In the matter of literature, Germany lagged far behind, and there was no great period of production between the time of the minnesingers and the latter part of the seventeenth century. The lyres of Germany were mute, or worse than mute, when Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, Dryden and Pope were making immortal literature, and when Italy, France and Spain were producing masterpieces.

In Lübeck, a period of poverty followed the fall of Wullenweber which lasted many years, during which time the patri-cians were forced to abandon many of their privileges. Numerous plans were devised for increasing the municipal income. A new lighthouse was absolutely necessary in place of the one destroyed, at the mouth of the Trave, and very large sums had constantly to be spent in the efforts to keep the river and harbour from silting up. It was vital to the trade of Lübeck that the channel of the Trave should be kept deep enough, by dredging, for the largest trading ships of the time. All this cost money, and among the desperate efforts to raise funds was a decree of the senate that no last will and testament of any citizen of Lübeck should be legal unless it contained a suitable bequest to the city, to be used in paying for keeping the channel open. A form of death duty which was no more popular than its modern imitation.

Many artisans, fleeing from the cruelties of Alva, in the Netherlands, were at this time seeking new homes. Hamburg, Cologne, Basle, Nuremberg and other towns welcomed them, and profited by so valuable an addition to their industrial population, for they were among the best craftsmen in Europe.

The reactionary government of Lübeck missed the opportunity, failed to recognize the value of the fugitives, and refused to grant them an asylum. It is not too much to say that every city which received some of those fugitives has profited by it, and many of the descendants of those emigrants are to-day among the most prominent and useful citizens of the adopted homes of their ancestors.

The senate, which connived at, if it did not contrive Wullenweber's murder, was one that believed in compromise to such a degree that it tried to maintain the cathedral chapter with a Protestant bishop and dean, and the canons evenly divided, Lutheran and Roman Catholic. Against the non-Lutheran Protestants—the Reformed Church—the senate was very severe. No one professing that faith was allowed to enter the city or to live there.

One after another, most of the privileges of the Hansa were lost. At Bergen, the German settlement—or fortress—was broken up, and the inhabitants compelled to swear allegiance to the King of Norway or leave the country. At Reval and Riga the government insisted upon the business being transacted by natives, or, at least, by residents, and not by travelling Hanseatic merchants.

The Swedish king demanded that Swedish subjects should have, in Germany, all the privileges enjoyed by the Hansa in Sweden, and, when this was scornfully refused by Lübeck, the king withdrew all the privileges which had been won during the previous centuries.

In England, Queen Elizabeth waged a fiscal war against the League, increasing duties and taxes, withdrawing special privileges, and finally prohibiting all trade with towns which did not give to English merchants the same rights as those enjoyed by German merchants in England. The Germans responded, first, by putting a heavy, almost prohibitive duty on all English goods, and, later, by prohibiting the sale of English goods in Germany. Hamburg was compelled to banish the Merchant Adventurers, who, however, found a welcome at Stade and Elbing, which were not at the time in harmony with the Hansa. England retaliated by sending Drake to the Spanish coast, where he gathered in a fleet of sixty German merchant ships engaged in carrying material aid and comfort to England's enemy, Spain.

After that, all English merchants were expelled from Germany, and Queen Elizabeth then promptly took possession of

the Hansa's Steelyard in London and ejected the Hanseatic representatives on August 4, 1598.¹

In 1611, Hamburg again opened her doors to the Merchant Adventurers, and in 1618 succeeded in regaining the confiscated Steelyard, and in building up a lucrative trade, founded on the principle of equal rights. This was highly disapproved of by Lübeck, where much was said of the treachery of individual cities being the cause of the downfall of the Hansa.

Meantime, the trade of Lübeck continued to decrease. The harbour of Archangel was discovered, whereby England obtained direct access to Russia at that point, and, at the same time, under the Tudor monarchs, English ships insisted upon entering the Baltic and sharing in the trade of that hitherto closely preserved sea.

The Czar of Russia dealt the Hansa a deadly blow when he refused to recognize its ambassadors. "Lübeck," said the czar, "I know, and will treat with; but I will not treat with a combination of cities, the rulers of some of which are enemies of mine," and so the individual cities were sometimes permitted to trade and make treaties in Russia, but the League was set aside.

¹ In 1609, according to an old account book preserved in Lübeck, the silver cups and dishes belonging to the Hanseatic Steelyard in London were sold for one thousand and sixty-eight thalers. (They would bring a good deal more if sold at Christie's to-day.) The proceeds of this sale went towards defraying debts of the Hansa.

From the same account book we learn what each city paid for membership in the League. Thus Lübeck paid one hundred thalers yearly. Dantzic paid eighty; Bremen and Lüneburg sixty each; and so on down to Kulm, which paid but ten thalers.

When Elizabeth came to the throne the Hansa thought the time had come to regain the whole of the English trade. Under Mary, in 1551, the Germans had carried 44,000 pieces of cloth out of England and the English had carried only 1,100. The Germans paid but one-tenth as much tax as the natives. When Elizabeth succeeded her sister they thought that by a little bullying they might get even the small amount of trade then in English hands. So they forbade English ships to trade in Germany, and tried to explain what terrible things must happen if Germany did not again receive her old monopoly.

Elizabeth, however, had not the advantage of Cobden's teaching, and retaliation was a weapon the use of which was well known to her. She promptly gave equal rights of trading in England not only to the people of all friendly nations, but also to Englishmen. She then increased the tax considerably, no matter who the merchant might be. Then, when the Merchant Adventurers were banished from Germany the Queen confiscated the Steelyard. As a result of this policy Germany submitted. English merchants were permitted, 1611, to trade in Germany and the Steelyard, shorn of all its privileges, was restored to the Hansa. In the meantime, however, thus encouraged and put on an equality with foreigners, English trade had increased enormously, and the Germans, who had always detested rivals, found English competitors everywhere.

CHAPTER XIX

THE END

DURING the Thirty Years' War Lübeck, like all other parts of Germany, suffered greatly, although she took as little part as possible in the contest. As the neighbourhood was ravaged in turn by Wallenstein and Tilly, by Danes and Swedes, the people became almost savage, and bands of armed robbers made the roads as insecure as they had ever been. One Kuno von Hoffmann, a man of good family, was caught and executed, but there was little improvement until after the peace of Münster became an accomplished fact.

The city also suffered much financially. A great deal of money was spent in strengthening the fortifications of both Lübeck and Travemünde; a great deal more went in paying a strong permanent garrison of 2000 mercenaries necessary to guard these strongholds. The embassies sent to various congresses also cost much money, and trade was more and more seeking other cities.

After the war, although the public affairs of Lübeck were guided by David Gloxin, a statesman of high rank, she was unable to escape paying large sums both to the emperor and the king of Sweden, as well as to the generals of both armies; and during the war between Denmark and Sweden, which followed close upon the peace of Münster, the generals of both armies had to be paid large sums of money to induce them to keep their troops from ravaging Lübeck territory. This lasted until after 1660, and during the whole period traffic, both by land and sea, was beset with peril from pirates, highway robbers and brutal soldiery.

The necessity for sending 300 men to assist the emperor to fight the Turks was another source of expense, while the cancelling of all trading privileges in Schonen—which had now become permanently a part of Sweden—caused a serious loss of income to the citizens.

Though there were still many rich men in the city, Lübeck herself had fallen hopelessly in debt. Thanks to the genius of Gloxin, she had suffered less than most of the German towns during the wars, and had emerged with enhanced political reputation. She had—through Gloxin, her ambassador—taken a very prominent part in the peace negotiations at Osnabrück

and Münster, and permanent, as well as special, ambassadors from other cities and countries still resided in the city; but she had lost much of her trade, and her municipal debt was almost too heavy to be borne. The senate demanded higher taxes, to which the people replied with accusations of extravagance and demands for a share in the government. Disputes, wrangles and public meetings followed, being frequent in the years 1661-1665, when the so-called Brewers' Insurrection took place. A mob of 700 armed men made the round of all estates belonging to patricians and lying near the city. There they destroyed all the stills, breweries and looms, for the owners were in the habit of making beer, spirits and cloth and selling them in the city. This high-handed action so alarmed the senators, who feared further and greater violence, that they yielded the control of the city finances to a new body composed of equal numbers of senators and citizens. In all other matters the power of the senate remained uncurtailed.

This concession did not satisfy the people, and there were frequent disturbances until 1670, when a new revision of the constitution took place. In 1671 the great burgomaster, Gloxin, died.

With this new constitution the modern history of Lübeck may be said to begin. The relations between the people and the government of the city were entirely changed, all classes being recognized as having political and legal rights.

At this time an attempt made, under the protection of the Landgravine of Hesse and the Elector of Brandenburg, to introduce the Reformed or Calvinistic religion was bitterly opposed by the dominant Lutherans, and frequent riots and persecutions occurred; but, towards the end of the century, members of the Reformed Church obtained permission to live in the city and to have a place of worship without the walls. Before this solution was reached the Reformed congregation met for worship in the house (No. 1 Klingenberg) where the hotel Stadt Hamburg now stands. When these meetings were prohibited, the Landgrave of Hesse bought No. 10 Schildstrasse as a home for his political representative and a place of worship for people of the Reformed religion, but the senate issued a special decree prohibiting its use for this latter purpose.

Lübeck was no longer the head and front of a great sea power. She was now only a free city of the empire, and as a sea power the empire was feeble and ineffective, with little or no unity among its component parts on land; consequently the

city had to submit quietly to ill-treatment from Colbert, the great minister of France, and to the bullying of Denmark.

In 1683 Lübeck surrendered Mölln, which she had held on lease for centuries, to the Duke of Lauenburg. As the century drew near its close in 1699 the city was visited by a terrible famine.

In 1615 the Prince of Thurn and Taxis was appointed post-master-general (hereditary) of the empire, and established a



CARVED AND PAINTED WOODEN ST. GEORGE IN THE MUSEUM

governmental postal system, at first only between the two imperial capitals, Vienna and Brussels, but extending it, as the roads became safer, into other parts of the empire. It was not until 1665 that an attempt was made to connect Lübeck with the rest of the empire by this system; but the city had, and for another half-century still continued to have, her own postal system—under the management of the society of the *Schönenfahrer*—carrying letters to and from Hamburg, Wismar, Hanover and Denmark.

A curious tax deemed to be necessary at this time was called the slave tax. It was to provide a fund to be used in buying

the freedom of sailors and others, citizens of Lübeck, who had the misfortune to be captured and kept as slaves by Algerian and Tunisian corsairs.

The expenses of the city continued to be very great. Heavy sums had to be paid to Denmark and Brandenburg to keep them from quartering troops within the walls, and to the electors of Hanover, who had inherited the duchy of Lüneburg, to induce them to respect the city's rights. Nevertheless the finances were so ably managed that the municipal debt, which in 1665 amounted to 5,250,000 Lübeck marks, had been reduced by 1729 to 3,000,000 marks.

Thomas Fredenhagen was the richest man of this period in Lübeck. He was fond of the good things of the world, living in luxury and, in his way, patronizing the arts. The marvellous wood-carving which he had made for one of the rooms in his house is still to be seen, as is the high altar which he presented to the Marienkirche. He was public-spirited and generous. On at least one occasion he advanced a very large sum of money to enable the city to meet some pressing obligations.

The altar, which was extravagantly admired when it was made, was the work of one Thomas Quellinus of Antwerp, and was made in 1697.

Most of the curious memorial tablets, which are called Epitaphen, and are so marked a feature of the interior decoration of the Marien Kirche, date from this flamboyant period. Each of them includes a portrait, several of which were painted by Godfrey Kneller, a native of Lübeck, who afterwards became a famous court painter in England.

In 1688 a book was printed in Amsterdam in English. It was entitled—

“Remarks of the Government of several Parts of Germanie, Denmark, Sweedland, Hambourg, Lübeck and Hanseatique Townes but more particularly of the United Provinces. With some few directions how to travell in the States Dominions. Together with a List of the most considerable cittyes in Europe with the number of houses in each city

by

William Carr, Gentleman, late Consul for the English nation in Amsterdam.”

In this book Lübeck is thus described—

"From Hambourg I went to Lübeck which is also a commonwealth and Imperiall town. It is a large well built citty containing ten parish churches. The cathedrall dedicated to St. Peter, being in length 500 feet with two high spires all covered with brass, as the rest of the churches in that citty are.

"In former times this citty was the place where the deputies of all the Hanseatique towns assembled, and it was so powerful as to make war against Sweeden and Denmark and to conquer several places and islands belonging to those two crowns, nay and to lend ships to England and other Potentates without prejudice to their own trade, wherein they vied in all parts with their neighbours; but it is now exceedingly run into decay, not only in territories, but in wealth and trade also.

"And the reason of that was chiefly the inconsiderate zeal of their Lutheran ministers who persuaded the magistrates to banish all Roman Catholics, Calvinists, Jews and all that dissented from them in matter of religion, even the English company, too, who all went and settled in Hambourg to the great advantage of that citty and almost ruine of Lübeck which hath not now above two hundred ships belonging to it, nor more territories to the state than the citty itself and a small port called Termond (Travemünde?) about eight miles distant from it. The rest of their territories are now in the possession to the Danes and Sweedes, by whom the burgers are so continually alarmed that they are quite tired out with keeping guard and paying of taxes. The citty is indeed well fortified, but the government, not being able to maintain over 1,500 soldiers in pay, 400 burghers in two companies are obliged to watch every day.

"They have a large well-built Stathouse and an exchange coverd on the top whereof the globes of the world are painted. This exchange is fifty yards in length and but fifteen in breadth; over it there is a roome in which the skinnes of five lions, which the burghers killed at the citty gates in the year 1252, are kept stufft.

"The great market place is very large, where a monumentall stone is to be seen on which one of their burgomasters was beheaded for running away without fighting in a sea engagement.

"The people here spend much time in their churches at devotion, which consists chiefly in singing. The women are beautiful but disfigured with a kind of antick dress; they wearing clokes like men.

"It is cheap living in this town, for one may hire a palace for a matter of £20 a year and have provisions at very reasonable rates; besides the air and water is very good, the city being supplied with fountains of excellent fresh water, which Hambourg lacks, and good ground for cellerage, there being cellers here forty or fifty feet deepe."

We also find in Mr. Carr's book that in Lübeck there were 6,500 houses, in Berlin 5,200, in Bremen 9,200, in Hamburg 1,250, in Lüneburg 3,100 and in Leipzig 3,240.

During the eighteenth century Lübeck continued gradually to decline. The Swedes and Danes, who in the earlier part of that century were usually at war with each other, fought back and forth through Holstein, Mecklenburg and Pomerania. Lübeck's territory was frequently ravaged, and more than once the city herself had to pay large sums as fines for alleged damage to troops, or as rewards for protection which they had not received. Considering that she was unquestionably a part of the German empire, it seems strange that this sort of bullying and plundering were taken no notice of by imperial authority.

In 1716 she was compelled to supply Charles XII. of Sweden with forty-seven ships to help transport his army to invade Mecklenburg. A short time afterwards Peter the Great spent a few days in Lübeck, and left a Russian garrison in the city for several months.

Not long after that a son of the bishop of Lübeck, who was a prince of the house of Holstein-Gottorp, became king of Sweden, and another prince of the same family married a daughter of Peter the Great, and became father of a son who was later the czar Peter III. One result of this latter marriage



MATRONA LVBECENSIS IN SAXONIA

23. Lübeck in der 15ten Stadt. Die züchtigen Frauen mit weiß
Da es grosse Handlung hat. Gehn auff der Gassen sollicher weis.

STREET COSTUME, FIFTEENTH CENTURY

was the expulsion of the Swedes (who had held a great part of what is now northern Germany for eighty years) and the great increase of Russian influence.

During these wars trade languished. The coinage was debased, and there was a general lowering of standards of all kinds. Yet Lübeck, though far less important than formerly and so weak as to fall a prey to every invader, had a long period of comparative quiet and prosperity, lasting from about 1720 until the French Revolution. Music, literature—such as it was—and art were more or less flourishing during this period. A new theatre was built in 1752. An Italian opera company visited the city in 1746. Stefano Torelli, an Italian painter, came and decorated the walls of the audience hall in the council house, and also did some work in several private palaces.

Andreas Cramer, a writer of hymns, was the only author of this dreary period in German literature who lived permanently in Lübeck, but Klopstock and Voss were frequent visitors.

It was a dull, fairly prosperous little provincial city, with great relics and reminders of her former grandeur. In 1800, when Sweden, Denmark, Prussia and Russia were at war with England, a Danish garrison occupied Lübeck, but when Alexander I. became czar he made peace with England, May 1801, and the Danes withdrew from the city. Hoping to avoid further trouble, Lübeck tore down her fortifications, but the precaution was in vain.

In 1803 the French demanded a heavy tax or tribute, which was paid. After the French victory at Jena, in 1806, Bernadotte and Soult pursued Blücher, who took refuge in Lübeck, quartering his troops on the citizens. However, the French caught him up the next day, and attacked the city on November 6. Three of the famous French marshals, Bernadotte, Soult and Murat, led the attack on the three gates. Three celebrated Germans, Blücher, Scharnhorst and Yorck, defended. After several hours of cannonading a fierce battle took place in the streets. By half-past three the French had won, capturing Yorck, Scharnhorst and 5000 men. Blücher fled, but was captured with the rest of the army next day.

The city was given up to the fury and lust of the French soldiery for two days. The devilish brutality exhibited at that time is said to have surpassed anything of the kind on record—excepting the unsurpassable horrors of the Thirty Years' War.

The great von Moltke was at that time a child living in his father's house in Lübeck, and he never forgot the scenes of

horror. Even General von Scharnhorst wrote that those accustomed to the horrors of war had rarely, if ever, seen such excesses among mankind.

After two days' licence Bernadotte put a stop to the sack of the city; but famine shortly followed, and there was intense suffering. Hamburg, though herself in great straits, sent large supplies of food.

The French continued to occupy Lübeck, causing great suffering and extorting large sums of money. Bernadotte himself "accepted" 100,000 francs, two of his generals each "accepted" 50,000 francs. All of the adjutants, military secretaries and aides "graciously received" large sums, in addition to 5000 francs daily which the city was compelled to pay for officers' table money.

All English-made goods in the city were confiscated. They amounted in value to more than 2,000,000 francs, and many of them were publicly burned.

Trade simply died. In 1806 1,508 ships entered the harbour. Two years later there were only fifty-one in the twelvemonth, and they were merely small coasters. The condition of the city sank lower and lower. In 1811 the local government was abolished and Lübeck was a part of the French empire, governed by the Marshal Davoust, who resided at Hamburg as governor-general of north-west Germany. The old laws were abolished, and the French code replaced them. Heavy taxes came at the same time, although business was dead and the only ships coming and going were a few fishing boats.

A French garrison occupied the city, quartered on the citizens. Sometimes it was small, but at others it numbered several thousands. Conscription was oppressive, and, over and above the burdensome taxation which was necessary to supply the large sums required by government, very considerable amounts were dragged from the people to pay for the frequent festivities which were ordered by the commandant. As the city was in the depths of poverty, she was compelled to sell all the magnificent, artistic plate for which she had been famous. More than 6000 ounces of historic table decorations were thus disposed of for the mere value of the metal, and in the same way the famous wines in the Rathskeller were sacrificed.

Relief came after the French retreat from Moscow. As is known, Germany then began to awake from her long degradation, and to prepare to throw off the foreign shackles.

On February 20, 1813, there was a premature rising of the

people in Lübeck, which was easily quelled by the 600 French troops, who were, however, compelled to evacuate the city on March 9, and on the 19th the old laws were reinstated.

On the 30th of the following May Davoust drove back the allies and reoccupied Lübeck. The citizens were disarmed, the recently re-opened port was closed, an indemnity of 6,000,000 francs was demanded. Five thousand troops were quartered upon the citizens, and sixty-eight prominent men were carried off as hostages.

In spite of all this the people were not as submissive as they had been, and there were frequent street broils. On one occasion several citizens were imprisoned, and one, a butcher named Prah, was hanged. Five hundred and sixty citizens were seized and transported to Hamburg, where they were forced to work on the earthworks which Davoust was then throwing up all around that city.

In the midst of great poverty, distress and misery a great festival was ordained, in honour of the Emperor Napoleon's birthday. It was carried out with costly splendour. There were processions, a parade, a *Te Deum* in the Marien Kirche, a feast in the castle meadows for the soldiers, and a banquet held in gorgeously decorated tents for the officers. At night the whole city was illuminated and there was a grand ball, to which the leading people were "commanded."

Soon after this the French were again defeated, and before long withdrew from Lübeck, only to be succeeded by 10,000 Danes, who were allies of the French. When food gave out, so that the Danes had not enough to eat, twenty-three senators were arrested and sent to prison in Hamburg.

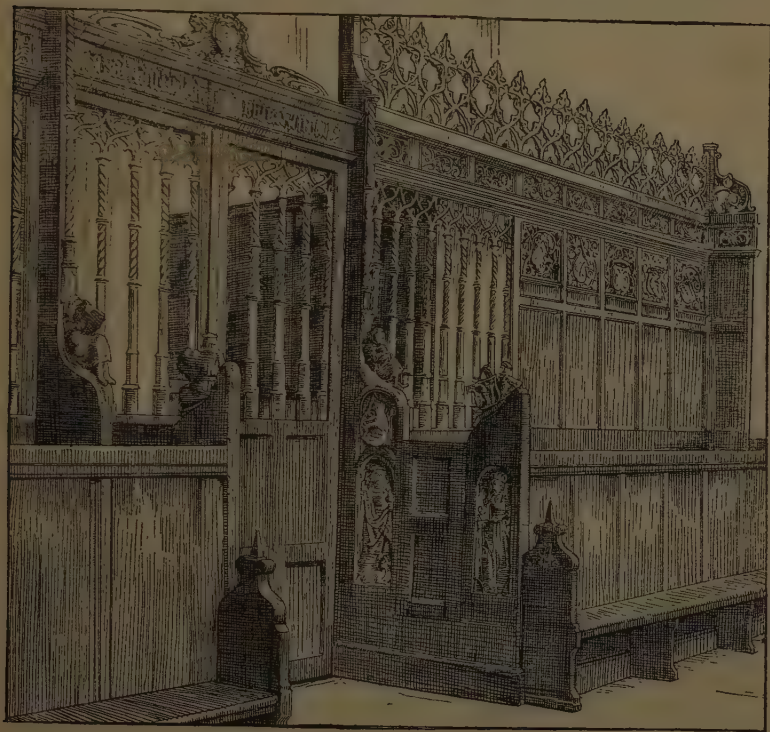
Bernadotte, who had become Crown Prince of Sweden and an enemy of Napoleon, marched to the relief of Lübeck and entered the city in triumph December 6, for the Danes had fled.

After this Lübeck was occupied by an army of sick and wounded friends and fugitives. At one time there were nearly 6000 refugees there, and more than 1000 sick and wounded died there.

Lübeck was again free, but so exhausted, broken-winged and crippled that recovery seemed to be impossible.

The Congress of Vienna recognized four free cities as component parts of the empire, or rather of the German confederation. Each of these was as independent as Austria or Saxony, though, of course, with only proportional representation in the council. These four cities were Frankfort-on-Main, Bremen,

Hamburg and Lübeck. The inhabitants of the latter city had feared that they might be incorporated with Denmark, Holstein or Lauenburg. Low as the proud little republic had been brought, she was spared the worst of all. Her independence was left, and out of the few remains of wealth and power the plucky citizens began their task of reconstruction.



BERGEN PEW

At first the old constitution was not revised, and efforts were made to return to the old ways. Jews were again forbidden to live within the walls, or rather within the boundaries where the walls had been, and many other old ways that were better forgotten were revived. Still, there was a revision of the laws, and—a matter of the first importance—a high court of appeal for the four free cities, with its seat at Lübeck, was established.

Little by little a certain amount of prosperity came with the

long years of peace, and this increased as railways were established and steamers were built, until now Lübeck is larger and better built and cleaner and healthier than when in her prime. She is prosperous, peaceful and happy; but she is now only a provincial town, carefully cherishing the numerous architectural and artistic relics of the great days when she was the Queen of the Baltic and ruled the mighty Hansa.

Perhaps no other family had so great a part in the regeneration of the city as that of Curtius. For three generations they filled prominent places and did great work. The Syndic Curtius has been called the father of modern Lübeck. His son, the late burgomaster, was easily the first statesman in the city, and to his wise diplomacy was due the sweeping away of the many annoying obstacles placed in the way of the city's progress by envious Denmark.¹

In the world of literature and scholarship Professor Ernst Curtius is Lübeck's most widely known son, although Emanuel Geibel, the poet, was also a native of the city, which has erected a statue in his honour. Overbeck, the painter, was also born in Lübeck, and two of his pictures adorn the chapels of the Marien Kirche.

¹ Denmark ruled Holstein until 1864, and prevented, as far as possible, the opening of new highways or railroads.

APPENDIX

A FEW OF THE NOTEWORTHY THINGS IN LÜBECK

THE interior of the Schiffergesellschaft, No. 2 Breitestrasse.

The interior of the Kauffmannschaft, No. 6 Breitestrasse, which contains the Fredenhagensche wood carvings.

At 61 Breitestrasse the great von Moltke lived when a child.

At 25 Glockengiessenstrasse there is a good interior, with a fine old stove.

No. 13 Johannesstrasse is the house in which the wife of the Emperor Charles IV. lodged in 1375.

The emperor himself lodged at Königstrasse, No. 41, now the restaurant zum Deutschen Kaiser.

Kohlmarkt, No. 13, is a good stone renaissance house, with a terra-cotta frieze of the sixteenth century.

No. 36 Mengstrasse has a noteworthy interior.

The terra-cotta decorations of No. 2 Münsterbahn are by von Düren, 1560.

No. 75 Unterstrasse has curious carvings, dated 1600.

In the Alfstrasse many of the doorways and gables are interesting.

The great bronze lions in front of the hotel Stadt Hamburg were made by Rauch the sculptor, who made the famous monument to Frederick the Great in Berlin.

Jürgen Wullenweber lived at 75 Königstrasse, corner of Huxstrasse.

Gustavus Vasa lived for nearly a year with Kord König in the Kohlmarkt.

Frederick Overbeck spent his early years at 76 Königstrasse.

At No. 9 Königstrasse lived burgomaster Parseval, and it was there that the conspirator betrayed the murderous plot to the glass goblet.

Alexander von Soltwedel lived at No. 11 Kohlmarkt.

No. 22 Ægidienstrasse is called the Gewerdeshof, because from 1420 to 1455 it belonged to an Italian, Gevardus de Boeris, who carried on business there as agent of Cosmo de Medici. In the notice of this gentleman's death in the city archives he is called, "Procuratori Cosmi di Medicis et sociorum suorum."

No. 1 Kleine alte Fährle is said to have been used as a bakery, without interruption, ever since 1297.

Jordan Pleskow, the great burgomaster, lived at No. 2 St. Annenstrasse.

Bernadotte had his headquarters, in 1806, at No. 13 Breitestrasse, and in 1813 he lived at No. 40 in the same street.

No. 51 Breitestrasse is the house which Gustavus Vasa presented to Dr. König.

Christian VII. of Denmark made his home for some time at 93 Breitestrasse.

The bishops of Ratzeburg for nearly a century had No. 11 Grosse Burgstrasse as their town house.

In the same street, No. 45, Das Blaue Beil has been a public-house for more than six hundred years.

42 Fischergrube was formerly called the English Beefsteak House.

Syndic Curtius lived at No. 8 Fischstrasse from 1802 to 1858, and Professor Ernst Curtius was born there.

Emanuel Geibel was born at 25 Fischstrasse.

No. 8 Glockengiesserstrasse was established as an almshouse in 1397. For generations it was supported by the Wickede family, but it is now in municipal hands.

No. 25 in the same street is very interesting. It is called the Fuchtingshof, having been founded and endowed by a senator Fuchting. Twenty-two almshouses surround a spacious courtyard. There is a quaint seventeenth-century board-room and a fine doorway.

No. 29 in the same street was founded as an almshouse by Johannes Illhorn in 1438.

Nos. 41-49 in the same street were founded by Senator Johannes Glandorp in 1612 as a home for poor women. It has a picturesque double gable.

No. 6 Grosse Gröpelgrube is St. Gertrude's, a hostel for men and women travellers, founded in 1362. Pilgrims were entertained free of charge. It had a gentlemen's dormitory with sixteen beds, a men's dormitory with sixteen beds, a women's dormitory with fifteen beds, a refectory and a chapel.

No. 16 in the same street is Gloxin's home for five widows.

No. 25 in the same street is a bakery, and has pursued the same honest calling since 1312.

At No. 3 Hartengrube, in 1904, lived the very surly and insolent verger of the cathedral. By ignoring him one could see the cathedral comfortably.

No. 14-16 of the same street are the Kerkring almshouses, and No. 9 Hundestrasse was founded by Wilhelm Warendorp, in 1351, as a home for twelve maiden ladies in reduced circumstances.

It will be seen that Lübeck is remarkable for the number and variety of its charitable foundations.

No. 25 Hundestrasse bears the arms of its founder, Bernard Holthusen, 1432.

No. 55 of the same street was founded in 1460 by Peter Droege as a home for twenty poor folk.

No. 78 is a home for fourteen poor women, endowed by Hans Herbede in 1528.

No. 2 Jacobistrasse is a home for widows of minor church officials.

Nos. 53-5 Johannesstrasse was a home for forty-two poor women, founded by Heinrich Brandenburg, and Nos. 67, 71 and 78 were similar foundations, as are No. 26 Lohberg, Nos. 1 and 20 in the Krähenstrasse.

At No. 2 Johannesstrasse lived the unfortunate burgomaster Wittenborg, who was beheaded in the market-place in 1363 for deserting the Hanseatic fleet at Helsingborg.

The Stadt Hamburg hotel was formerly the official residence of Hamburg's representatives at the Hansatags. The next house is the one bought by the Landgrave of Hesse as an embassy, in order that members of the Reformed Church might meet there.

The Bröms family lived at No. 9 Königstrasse.

The Thurn and Taxis post-office was for a long time at No. 17, while at No. 34 Peter the Great and Catherine of Russia spent part of a week.

The house now used to store the city archives in occupies the site of the Zirkel Brothers' club house.

The Morneweg family, who founded the Heiligengeist hospital, lived at 47-49 Königstrasse, and in 1621 Frederick, king of Bohemia—the Winter King—lived there.

In the middle of the market-place is the Butterbude. The upper portion of this house was formerly open, the roof being supported on pillars, and there brawlers, disturbers of the peace and quarrelsome women were placed for all the world to see. The stocks and pillory were close by. Also near by was a great stone, with trees shading it, on which bankrupts had to sit whilst the town crier rang a bell to call attention to them.

The public executioner and torturer lived at No. 112 An der Marier.

The Mengstrasse was the home of many senatorial families, and the traitor Heinrich Paternostermacher lived there at No. 7.

No. 18 was the club house of the Schonenfahrers.

No. 36 is said to be the only house of which the interior has been unchanged since the seventeenth century. It has some good carved panels.

No. 27 Mühlenstrasse is said to be haunted.

Nos. 58-60 is where the Dukes of Holstein lived when in Lübeck, which was very often.

No. 95 Mühlenstrasse, called de olde Tollbode, reminds one, by its name, of Edinburgh.

The Counts of Rantzau lived in the palace, No. 1 Parade, and their arms are over the door.

Hinter St. Peter is a street which, for more than five hundred years, has been occupied by cutlers and armourers.

Before 1280 the Hospital of the Holy Ghost occupied a site in the Pferdemarkt, which has ever since been known as "de Graal."

There are quaint old almshouses, No. 15-21, in the Schumacherstrasse, and there are two old guild houses in the Schmiedestrasse.

No. 75 Untertrave has a wine-room with a fine wood-carving done for Senator Spongenberg in 1576.

Marien Kirche.—This is a very noble Gothic church, with very tall arches and beautifully vaulted ceiling. Built of brick, it has, unfortunately, been whitewashed inside. There are very many extraordinarily richly carved, painted and gilded "epitaphs," or memorials, of former citizens. Each one usually has a portrait in oils of the person commemorated. They date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The whitewash behind them is not so bad as some of the violent colours used in the dreadful "restorations" to which many German churches were subjected in the later years of the nineteenth century.

The screen which separates the nave from the chancel has a gallery for singers on top of it.

Many of the pews have wonderful carvings, especially those of the senate and the various guilds.

There is a fine and curious gilded and painted bronze font. The cover to this is rococo and inferior.

The Jacobikirche (St. James) has a beautiful organ façade, and the chandeliers, brackets and standards are excellent. The



THE DONORS, CARVED ALTAR PIECE, MUSEUM

frieze of the screen to the north-eastern altar alcove is worth seeing, as are several of the monuments, especially one in the north-eastern corner with the recumbent figure of a knight.

Cathedral.—The carving on the pulpit was brought here from St. Catherine's. The door to the sacristy has a fourteenth century knocker of bronze. The choir stalls are fine work. There is a great clock with figures, and some fine Flemish monuments in bronze. Curious great hanging cross and lamps, and beautifully carved reading desk.

Holy Ghost Hospital.—The chapel is interesting Gothic; it has some fine frescoes, much damaged by restorers. The carved and painted altars are very remarkable. Nearly everything was daubed over with gaudy colours in the nineteenth century. The small cubicles, where the inmates live, and the kitchens should be seen.

The Rathhaus should certainly be visited.

The Museum occupies a fine modern building, which contains many interesting and beautiful objects. Its specialty is the collection of fine carved and painted triptychs of mediæval origin, taken from churches or convents which no longer exist.

No. 18, called Maria Ægyptica, is an unusual one. It has been removed from the castle chapel. Mary of Egypt is represented life size and covered with curling golden hair growing all over her body, though so worn in places that the skin shows through at the knees and feet. Numbers of small angels fly about swinging censers. The Baldequin and background are of a beautiful, carved, Gothic pattern. The left upper wing represents Mary washing the Christ's feet, and the lower panel shows Christ as a gardener, with a spade, and Mary kneeling before Him. On the right wing we see Mary casting out a devil, and Mary receiving communion, surrounded by angels. The Gothic ornamental carvings are very beautiful. The predella represents a hunting party, of which Mary, in her unregenerate days, is a member. The date of the work is 1519.

Another beautiful triptych, carved and painted in 1484 by Conrad Gescheit, represents Madonna with St. Luke. It belonged to the Brotherhood of St. Luke, and adorned an altar in St. Catherine's church.

No. 3 is a triptych taken from St. Gertrude's. It is fifteenth-century work, and represents St. Gertrude holding a church, with a remarkable group of the donors and their families. This is most realistic. The finely dressed father holds a bunch of grapes; the gentle mother has a babe at her breast, while

three children follow, one sucking at a feeding-bottle, one eating from a bowl with a spoon, and one riding a stick. On the left wing is a charming Madonna, with St. Joseph offering the child an apple. On the right are two saints with gorgeous robes and a splendid missal, from which a small bishop on tiptoe tries to read, but a little black dog tries to drag him away. On the left wing is another quaint and charming family group.

No. 21.—Four interesting wings of a triptych taken from St. James's from the high altar. The subject is the adoration of the Magi, and is evidently the work of a master. The landscape and minor figures are very curious.

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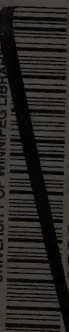
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